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STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT OF

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington, D. C.

February 23, 1953

Volume 66

VOICE OF AMERICA

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY

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EXECUTIVE SESSION - CONFIDENTIAL

VOLUME NO. 66

VOICE OF AMERICA

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1953

United States Senate,

Senate Permanent Subcommittee on
Investigations of the Committee
on Government Operations,

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to Senate Resolution 40,
agreed to January 30, 1953, in Room 357 of the Senate Office
Building, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, chairman, presiding.

PRESENT:

SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, Republican, Wisconsin.
SENATOR KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, South Dakota.
SENATOR CHARLES E. POTTER, Republican, Michigan.
SENATOR JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Democrat, Arkansas.
SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON, Democrat, Washington.
SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, Missouri.

PRESENT ALSO:

ROY COHN, Chief Counsel.
DONALD SURINE, Assistant Counsel.
DAVID SCHINE, Chief Consultant.
HENRY HAWKINS, Investigator.
RUTH YOUNG WATT, Chief Clerk.

ROBERT MORRIS, Chief Counsel, Subcommittee on
Internal Security of the Senate Committee on
the Judiciary.

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1 SENATOR POTTER: Mr. Weyl, will you stand and be sworn,
2 please? Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth,
3 the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

4 MR. WEYL: I do.

5 SENATOR POTTER: Will you identify yourself for the
6 record, giving your name and your address?

7 TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL WEYL,
8 3434 OAKWOOD TERRACE, NORTHWEST,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

9 MR. WEYL: My name is Nathaniel Weyl; I live at 3434
10 Oakwood Terrace, Northwest, Washington.

11 MR. COHN: Mr. Weyl, were you ever a member of the
12 Communist Party?

13 MR. WEYL: Yes, Mr. Cohn, I was.

14 MR. COHN: And when did you join the party, approximately?

15 MR. WEYL: Approximately in December of 1932 or January
16 of 1933.

17 MR. COHN: And what were you doing when you joined the
18 party?

19 MR. WEYL: I was taking post-graduate work in Columbia
20 University at that time.

21 MR. COHN: Were you taking postgraduate work at Columbia?

22 MR. WEYL: That is right, yes.

23 MR. COHN: Now, did you ever hear of a man named Donald
24 Henderson?

25 MR. WEYL: Oh, yes.

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1 MR. COHN: Doyou know Donald Henderson?

2 MR. WEYL: I do.

3 MR. COHN: Did you know him back in 1932 and 1933?

4 MR. WEYL: Yes, I knew him in that period.

5 MR. COHN: Now, was Donald Henderson a Communist?

6 MR. WEYL: He was.

7 MR. COHN: Was Donald Henderson, in addition to being a

8 Communist an economics instructor at Columbia University?

9 MR. WEYL: That is correct, yes.

10 MR. COHN: Did there ever come a time when his contract

11 was not renewed?

12 MR. WEYL: Yes. The exact date of that you probably

13 know. It was in '32 or '33.

14 MR. COHN: Would you agree with me if I said that was

15 around the spring of '33?

16 MR. WEYL: Yes.

17 MR. COHN: By the way, Henderson was a party member; is

18 that right?

19 MR. WEYL: He was, yes.

20 SENATOR POTTER: How do you know he was a party member?

21 MR. WEYL: Well, I did not ever see him show a Communist

22 Party card, but I was active in the National Student League,

23 which was a Communist front organization. And there was what

24 is called in the Communist movement a top fraction

25 which is the group that guides or directs the policies of the

1 whole organization and consists only of Communist Party
2 members. And both of us were in that fraction.

3 SENATOR POTTER: Have you ever seen him in what was
4 referred to as a closed Communist meeting?

5 MR. WEYL: Yes.

6 SENATOR POTTER: Where only Communists would be allowed
7 to attend?

8 MR. WEYL: Yes, Senator. These fractions are such
9 meetings.

10 MR. COHN: Now, you say there came a time when Donald
11 Henderson was a Communist was an economics instructor at
12 Columbia, and you say there came a time when his contract at
13 Columbia was not renewed; is that correct?

14 MR. WEYL: That is right, yes.

15 MR. COHN: Did that cause quite a bit of fuss in certain
16 quarters, when Columbia failed to renew his contract?

17 MR. WEYL: Yes, the National Student League, which
18 was the Communist-directed national student organization, and
19 the Columbia Social Problems Club, which was then under
20 Communist control, made this a great free speech issue.

21 MR. COHN: Did you participate in this issue, as a
22 Communist?

23 MR. WEYL: I did.

24 MR. COHN: And do you have any recollection of having
25 addressed a meeting in connection with this incident?

1 MR. WEYL: I have a recollection of addressing a meeting,
2 but nothing beyond that.

3 MR. COHN: In connection with the Henderson ouster; is
4 that right?

5 MR. WEYL: Precisely, yes.

6 MR. COHN: Now, was that around the time of his ouster?

7 MR. WEYL: I think so.

8 MR. COHN: And if I were to tell you that the article
9 in the Daily Worker reflected that the meeting took place on
10 May 11th 1933, and that you were present and addressed a
11 meeting, I assume you would not have any disagreement with
12 the probable accuracy of that?

13 MR. WEYL: I would assume that is correct. Of course, I
14 have no specific recollection of the date.

15 MR. COHN: You remember a meeting but you do not recall
16 the exact date?

17 MR. WEYL: That is right.

18 MR. COHN: Now, I am going to ask you about some of the
19 other people who addressed that same meeting Kunitz,
20 Joshua Kunitz?

21 Did you know Joshua Kunitz?

22 MR. WEYL: Yes, I did.

23 MR. COHN: Was he then a member of the Communist Party?

24 MR. WEYL: I think I can testify that he was a Communist.
25 I am not sure that I could say specifically under oath that

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1 he was a member of the party.

2 MR. COHN: He was a Communist?

3 MR. WEYL: Yes.

4 MR. COHN: Now, we also have a man by the name of Hersh
5 representing the International Labor Defense.

6 Now, with reference to the International Labor Defense,
7 do you know whether or not that had any connection with the
8 Communist Party?

9 MR. WEYL: Yes. It was a Red-front organization
10 controlled by the party.

11 MR. COHN: Mr. Surine, do we have any reference in the
12 Guide to Subversive Organizations concerning the International
13 Labor Defense?

14 MR. SURINE: Yes.

15 MR. COHN: I wonder if we could have that, Mr. Chairman?

16 SENATOR POTTER: Yes.

17 MR. SURINE: This was the official citation by the
18 House Committee on un-American Activities, including the
19 citation of the Attorney General.

20 Rather than read all of the citations, I will just mention
21 it was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and
22 Communist and suggest that this be made part of the record.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Very well.

24 (The information referred to follows:)

25 From "Citations by Official Government Agencies of

1 Organizations and Publications Found to be Communist or
2 Communist-Fronts," December 10, 1940, prepared and released
3 by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of
4 Representatives, Washington, D. C.

5 Page 53, International Labor Defense

6 1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

7 "Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty
8 Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21,
9 1940.

10 2. "Legal Arm of the Communist Party."

11 (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record,
12 September 24, 1942, P. 7606)

13 3. "It is essentially the legal defense arm of the
14 Communist Party of the United States."

15 It is the American Section of M.O.P.R. or Red Inter-
16 national of Labor Defense, often referred to as the Red
17 International Aid. Its International Congresses meet in
18 Moscow.

19 (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports,
20 January 3, 1939, PP. 75 - 76: Also cited in reports, January
21 3, 1940, P. 9, June 25, 1942 P. 19, March 29, 1944, P. 69.)

22 4. "The International Labor Defense was part of an
23 International network of organizations for the defense of
24 Communist lawbreakers. At a conference held in Detroit,
25 Michigan, April 27-28, 1946, the International Labor Defense

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1 and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
2 merged to form the new front, Civil Rights Congress."

3 (Senate Congressional Committee on Un-American
4 Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, PP. 1 and 2.)

5 5. "One of the more potent and obvious Communist-
6 front organizations."

7 (California Committee on Un-American Activities,
8 Report, 1947, P. 214)

9 6. "The Communist Party established the International
10 Labor Defense in this country during the summer of 1925,
11 as the United States section of the International Red Aid. . .
12 with headquarters in Moscow."

13 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American
14 Activities, Report, 1938, PP. 190 and 342.)

15 7. "An organization whose Communist character and
16 international affiliation are a matter of public record."

17 (New York City Council Committee Investigating the
18 Municipal Civil Service Commission.)

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1 MR. COHN: You say it was cited by the Attorney
2 General as Communist?

3 MR. WEYL: Yes.

4 MR. COHN: When I talked to you over the week-end, I
5 asked you about a man named Reed Harris.

6 MR. WEYL: That is correct.

7 MR. COHN: And I asked you whether he was a Communist,
8 and you said you had a certain impression concerning him
9 being a Communist, but you would not care to testify about
10 this, because your recollection was dim, and you could not
11 recall the facts upon which an impression was based. Is
12 that still your feeling?

13 MR. WEYL: Well, yes, except that I feel, for the reasons
14 you have given, I should withdraw the impression. In other
15 words, if it is an impression that can't be substantiated,
16 perhaps it should not be in the record. That is, of course,
17 up to the Senator.

18 MR. COHN: You cannot recall the facts upon which it was
19 predicated?

20 MR. WEYL: Precisely. I can't.

21 MR. COHN: I want to ask you about one or two other
22 organizations.

23 First of all, are you familiar with an organization
24 known as the American Student Union?

25 MR. WEYL: Yes.

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1 MR. COHN: Did the Communists have any connection with
2 that organization?

3 MR. WEYL: They did, Mr. Cohn. There were two student
4 organizations in '32-33, one of which was completely Communist-
5 controlled, the National Student League, and the other was
6 controlled by socialist groups. That was the Student League
7 for Industrial Democracy. These two organizations merged
8 into the American Student Union, I think it is.

9 SENATOR JACKSON: Was that a part of the League for
10 Industrial Democracy?

11 MR. WEYL: The Student League for Industrial Democracy.
12 And in the merger of the two groups into the American Student
13 Union, the Communists took control. But, of course, the
14 Socialist students and League for Industrial Democracy students
15 remained in the new organization until it became so obviously
16 Communist they had to get out.

17 SENATOR POTTER: Your testimony is as it relates to
18 Columbia University?

19 MR. WEYL: No, sir, as to the national student movement.

20 SENATOR POTTER: I see.

21 MR. COHN: Let me ask you this, if I may. Are you
22 familiar with the American Student Union as of, say, 1937 to 1938?

23 MR. WEYL: No. That would only be by hearsay.

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24 MR. COHN: When did you leave the Communist Party, by the
25 way, Mr. Weyl?

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1 MR. WEYL: I dropped out about '37 or '38, and broke with
2 the Communist Party at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

3 MR. COHN: By the way, did you know Alger Hiss?

4 MR. WEYL: Yes, I did.

5 MR. COHN: Did you know Alger Hiss to be a member of the
6 Communist Party?

7 MR. WEYL: Yes, I did.

8 MR. COHN: Were you in the same Communist cell with
9 Alger Hiss at one time?

10 MR. WEYL: That is correct.

11 MR. COHN: Let me ask you this, Mr. Weyl. Did you ever
12 encounter an organization known as the League of American
13 Writers?

14 MR. WEYL: Yes.

15 MR. COHN: And did that have any connection with the
16 Communists?

17 MR. WEYL: It is my distinct impression that this was
18 Communist-controlled.

19 MR. COHN: I would ask, Mr. Chairman, if from this
20 Guide to Subversive Organizations, compiled by the House
21 ^{it} Committee be noted in this record that the Attorney General
22 of the United States has cited the League of American Writers
23 as subversive and Communist at page 72.

24 SENATOR JACKSON: From what time on?

25 MR. COHN: June 1, '48, by the Attorney General, I am

1 sorry.

2 The latest citation was September 21, 1940. It was
3 cited first by the Attorney General, September 24th, 1942.

4 In the course of the citation, the Attorney General
5 stated -- Attorney General Francis Biddle stated: "The League
6 of American Writers was founded under Communist auspices
7 in 1935" and so on and so forth.

8 Of course, Senator Jackson, the citation when announced --
9 is predicated on the past activities of the organization
10 rather than its status at the moment. it is cited as sub-
11 versive.

12 SENATOR POTTER: The citation will be made a part of
13 the record.

14 (The citation follows:)
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

1 MR. CHON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 MR. WEYL: May I add to the answer I just gave you?

3 MR. COHN: Surely.

4 MR. WEYL: When I say that this organization was, to the
5 best of my belief, Communist-controlled, I don't mean to imply
6 that all the members were Communists or that they were aware
7 of that control.

8 MR. COHN: I see.

9 I think that is all I have of Mr. Weyl, Mr. Chairman.

10 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Counsel has asked some of the ques-
11 tions I was going to ask, but I have a few.

12 Did you ever know Lee Pressman?

13 MR. WEYL: Yes, I did.

14 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Tell us a little about that. How
15 did you know him and where?

16 MR. WEYL: Lee Pressman was a member of the Ware Unit
17 of the Communist Party in Washington, D. C. In fact, Pressman,
18 Hiss, and I were among the eight or nine people who met with
19 the first meeting of that organization, I presume. So I was
20 in this Communist cell with him for a period of approximately
21 nine months.

22 SENATOR SYMINGTON: What are you doing now, Mr. Weyl?

23 MR. WEYL: I am a writer, sir.

24 SENATOR SYMINGTON: You live in Washington?

25 MR. WEYL: Yes, sir.

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1 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Now, with respect to Mr. Reed
2 Harris, you say it is your impression he was a Communist.
3 go
4 Do you want to ^{go} into that a little bit?

5 MR. WEYL: I would like to withdraw that, Senator, and
6 explain how little I know about him.

7 Reed Harris was either expelled from Columbia or
8 forced out during the academic year, 1931-32.

9 I was an undergraduate student in Columbia until '31.
10 Then, during the year of Harris's expulsion, I was taking the
11 first year of my postgraduate work in the London School of
12 Economics in London. So when I returned to Columbia to
13 take my second year of graduate work, Harris had already been
14 severed from the University. Therefore, anything that I might
15 recollect about him would be pure hearsay. I couldn't give
16 a source for the hearsay, after ten years.

17 SENATOR SYMINGTON: What was the hearsay that you heard?

18 MR. WEYL: Well, that is just why I didn't really want
19 this in the record.

20 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, we might as well have it in
21 the record, because you have put it in the record now.

22 When you indict a fellow, the fact you withdraw it later
23 or is not very conclusive, so there must be some reason why
24 you had an impression that Harris was a Communist, and I would
25 like to know what it was.

26 MR. WEYL: Yes. Well, again, subject to imperfection

1 of recollection after this period, the Social Problems
2 Club had fallen under Communist control during the timewhen
3 I was in London.

4 SENATOR SYMINGTON: The Social Problems Club?

5 MR. WEYL: Yes.

6 SENATOR SYMINGTON: And what is that?

7 MR. WEYL: This was -- I don't know whether it still
8 exists -- the radical club of Columbia University. And I had
9 been president of it during my undergraduate days for, I
10 think, two years; at which time I was a Socialist and the
11 club was Socialist.

12 During the year of my absence, it fell under Communist
13 domination. So, on my return, I joined the Executive Board
14 of the Social Problems Club, and I can remember a discussion
15 of the Reed Harris fight.

16 SENATOR SYMINGTON: When was that? In what year?

17 MR. WEYL: This is the academic year of '32-'33.

18 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I thought you were a Communist then.

19 MR. WEYL: I became a Communist toward the middle of that
20 academic year.

21 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I see.

22 MR. WEYL: But I was sufficiently sympathetic to be brought
23 on the Board of a Communist-controlled student group of which
24 I had previously been president. So that all I can recollect
25 is really that the campaign on Reed Harris, which was discussed

before me as past history, and in which I had no interest,
was led by a group which was at the time under Communist
control.

and as to testifying that my impression of Harris was
this: When Mr Cohn asked me this over the telephone, I
simply said this is vaguely my impression, but I would like,
if possible, not to have any such indictment on my part in the
record, because it is an impression I certainly can't sub-
stantiate, and I don't know whether it is correct.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: Then your impressions if any,
with respect to Reed Harris being a Communist, were based on
the fact that an organization dominated by Communists led
a fight against his expulsion from Columbia? Is that about the
net of it?

MR. WEYL: Yes. And that is not a necessary inference
at all, of course, as to him.

SENATOR POTTER: For what reason was he expelled?

MR. WEYL: This I just don't recollect. I was not there
at the time, and I didn't feel I should refresh my recollection
by newspaper files before coming here.

MR. COHN: Did you participate in this meeting as a
Communist, Mr. Weyl?

MR. WEYL: Well, let me see if I understand the question.

MR. COHN: Let me withdraw that.

Henderson was ousted as an economics instructor at
Columbia. Now, did the Communist organization or leader

espouse the demonstration to have him reinstated?

1 before me as past history, and in which I had no interest,
2 was led by a group which was at the time under Communist
3 control.

4 And as to testifying that my impression of Harris was
5 this: When Mr Cohn asked me this over the telephone, I
6 simply said this is vaguely my impression, but I would like,
7 if possible, not to have any such indictment on my part in this
8 record, because it is an impression I certainly can't sub-
9 stantiate, and I don't know whether it is correct.

10 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Then your impressions if any,
11 with respect to Fred Harris being a Communist, were based on
12 the fact that an organization dominated by Communists led
13 a fight against his expulsion from Columbia? Is that about the
14 net of it?

15 MR. WEYL: Yes. And that is not a necessary inference
16 at all, of course, as to him.

17 SENATOR POTTER: For what reason was he expelled?

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19 at the time, and I didn't feel I should refresh my recollection
20 by newspaper files before coming here.

21 MR. COHN: Did you participate in this meeting as a
22 Communist, Mr. Weyl?

23 MR. WEYL: Well, let me see if I understand the question.

24 MR. COHN: Let me withdraw that.

25 Henderson was ousted as an economics instructor at
Columbia. Now, did the Communist organization or leader

espouse the demonstration to have him reinstated?

1 Let me put it that way.

2 MR. WEYL: Yes, operating through fellow traveler
3 organizations.

4 SENATOR POTTER: I think possibly, along that line,
5 if you can, briefly, would you answer the question of Senator
6 Symington concerning your impression or upon what basis you
7 gained your impression, that Harris was a Communist?

8 MR. WEYL: I have been trying to see how I could with-
9 draw that statement. Because, in the first place, there is
10 this gap of twenty years. Secondly, if I ever knew Reed
11 Harris, I have no recollection of it. The only thing I do
12 know is that the Reed Harris case, involving his expulsion
13 or severance from Columbia occurred at a time when I was
14 studying in London, so that I was not present at the campus
15 at that time. And I can merely recollect discussion about
16 it. But with this gap in time, I would not like to give
17 any impression as to what Reed Harris was or was not. The
18 fact that the Social Problems Club, which was Communist-
19 dominated, defended him, does not necessarily mean that he
20 himself was a Communist.

21 MR. COHN: Did the Social Problems Club defend him?
22 Is that your recollection?

23 MR. WEYL: That is my recollection.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Was Reed Harris a teacher or a student
25 at that time?

1 MR. WEYL: A student.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you have the record of his expul-
3 sion and the reasons for it?

4 MR. COHN: We have a whole file on it, Senator, and
5 will develop that.

6 SENATOR POTTER: Senator Jackson, any questions?

7 SENATOR JACKSON: I was just trying to find out whether
8 Mr. Harris was active in the Social Problems Club.

9 MR. WEYL: I can't testify to that, Senator.

10 SENATOR JACKSON: Was he at the time you were in it?
11 At the time you were in it, it was dominated by the Socialists,
12 and you were then a Socialist?

13 MR. WEYL: Yes.

14 SENATOR JACKSON: And that was in 1931-32?

15 MR. WEYL: This was roughly '28 to February of '31.

16 SENATOR JACKSON: 1928 to February of 1931?

17 MR. WEYL: To February '31.

18 SENATOR JACKSON: And then?

19 MR. WEYL: In '31 and '32, I came back for further
20 graduate work and again became active in the Social Problems
21 Club.

22 SENATOR JACKSON: When did it move from dominance by
23 the Socialists to control by the Communists?

24 MR. WEYL: In '31 and '32.

25 SENATOR JACKSON: 1931 and 1932.

MR. WEYL: Yes.

1 SENATOR JACKSON: And when was the protest filed by the
2 club in behalf of Mr. Reed Harris? Do you remember?

3 MR. WEYL: All I can say about that, Senator, is that the
4 case was in 1931-32. The Reed Harris case was in that
5 academic year.

6 SENATOR JACKSON: In the spring of 1932?

7 MR. COHN: Was it in the spring of 1932?

8 MR. WEYL: At which time I was in London. So I have no
9 knowledge about that.

10 SENATOR JACKSON: Now, was he a member of the club
11 when you were in it?

12 MR. WEYL: This would mean the two and a half years in
13 which it was a socialist club.

14 SENATOR JACKSON: 1928 to 1930.

15 MR. WEYL: '28 to February, '31.

16 SENATOR JACKSON: Yes.

17 MR. WEYL: If he was, I don't remember. We had a fairly
18 large club, I think a hundred members.

19 SENATOR JACKSON: Then was he a member of the club after
20 you came back?

21 MR. WEYL: No, he wasn't in Columbia at that time.

22 MR. COHN: He had been expelled.

23 SENATOR POTTER: Your recollection is as to what was told
24 you as to what happened in the club during the year you were
25 away?

1 MR. WEYL: Yes. And then, of course, coming back to
2 the club and finding it was Communist-dominated on my
3 return.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: When you came back
5 to the club, did you have occasion to talk with any other
6 Communists about the removal of Harris, or do you recall?
7 I know that is a long time, twenty years.

8 MR. WEYL: Senator, I am afraid my recollection of that
9 is too vague.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: I assume by that time the name, Harris,
11 had no special significance, and there was no particular
12 reason why you would recall all the details twenty years
13 later.

14 MR. WEYL: I remembered the name, Senator, when Mr. Cohn
15 telephoned me, but I don't remember any details about it.

16 SENATOR JACKSON: Was the remembrance more about the
17 controversy on the campus?

18 MR. WEYL: Yes, that was one of the --

19 SENATOR JACKSON: Well, his name was in prominence,
20 because he was up for ouster, and groups were rallying
21 behind him.

22 MR. WEYL: I believe this is the case. Again, I wasn't
23 there at that time, and that that is probably the reason I
24 recalled something about it when I was telephoned.

25 SENATOR POTTER: Any other questions?

1 SENATOR JACKSON: Why did you join the Communist Party?

2 Because of the economic conditions?

3 MR. WEYL: They didn't affect me particularly.

4 I think the main reason was that I had been in Europe
5 and had seen the rise of the Nazis to power, and I was a
6 Socialist, you see, to start with, and felt that a revolution-
7 ary organization would be needed.

8 SENATOR JACKSON: To stop the Nazis?

9 MR. WEYL: Right.

10 SENATOR JACKSON: You had your own independent means of
11 getting along?

12 MR. WEYL: That is right, yes.

13 SENATOR JACKSON: I mean, as far as going to school was
14 concerned, it was no problem for you from the standpoint of
15 making your own way?

16 MR. WEYL: No, it wasn't.

17 SENATOR JACKSON: You had an independent means.

18 MR. WEYL: That is right.

19 SENATOR POTTER: Any other questions?

20 THE CHAIRMAN: I want to thank you very much, Mr. Weyl.

21 MR. COHN: Were you ever a member of the League of
22 American Writers?

23 MR. WEYL: I attended one of their conferences.

24 MR. COHN: About when?

25 MR. WEYL: I can't recall. I would think '35.

1 MR. COHN: '39

2 MR. WEYL: No, I would think 1935.

3 MR. COHN: Just after its organization?

4 MR. WEYL: And if I was a member, it was simply pro
5 forma.

6 MR. COHN: Did you know that it was Communist-controlled?

7 MR. WEYL: I assumed so, yes.

8 SENATOR JACKSON: What percentage, would you say, of the
9 writers, were Communists?

10 MR. WEYL: This would also be guess work, but since it
11 was a large organization, I would assume the percentage was
12 small.

13 SENATOR JACKSON: Very small?

14 MR. WEYL: Small, yes.

15 SENATOR JACKSON: What do you mean? Relatively speaking,
16 what would you say?

17 MR. WEYL: I can't testify on this in terms of knowledge.
18 I don't know whether I should guess.

19 SENATOR JACKSON: Well, were some of them actually naive
20 that belonged, did not know that it was Communist-controlled?

21 MR. WEYL: Oh, yes. Yes. This was so about most of
22 these fellow traveler organizations at that time.

23 SENATOR POTTER: This was a front organization established
24 by the Communists and controlled by the Communists, I think.
25 the record will establish.

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1 SENATOR JACKSON: Yes. I was just trying to find out
2 whether a substantial number of them knowingly belonged.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: I think the history of these fronts--
4 and I think Mr. Weyl will back me up on this -- that the
5 principal thing that has made them valuable to the Communist
6 Party is that they have been able to get good names and some
7 well meaning dupes to belong to a front.

8 I might say in all this investigating I have been doing
9 over the past three years, I have never been impressed by
10 the fact that a man belonged to one particular Communist
11 front. I want to find out how active he was in it, who his
12 close associates were in it, and if you find that he belongs
13 to a number of them.--

14 SENATOR JACKSON: Where there is a pattern established.

15 SENATOR POTTER: That it is by design rather than happen-
16 stance.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. Because it is pretty easy to write
18 to Senator Jones and say: "Will you contribute ten dollars
19 for the benefit of the starving children of China" and you may
20 send in ten dollars, and they get your name on the list, and
21 it is very easy. But I think the significant thing, as I
22 have said, has the club actively supported the individual
23 when he was in trouble?

24 You may have covered this already, but, very
25 briefly: The Social Problems Club, you say, was Communist

1 controlled when you returned from Europe and were active to
2 some extent in the club?

3 MR. WEYL: Yes.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: Would you say it was organized under
5 Communist auspices originally? Or was it later infiltrated
6 and controlled?

7 MR. WEYL: No, it was later infiltrated. The history
8 of that, briefly, is that when I came to Columbia in '25,
9 the Social Problems Club already existed, but as a tiny
10 little organization of about seven or eight members. I became
11 the president of it and it was under socialist control.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: You became the president in 1928. At
13 that time you were a Socialist not a Communist?

14 MR. WEYL: Yes.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: I see.

16 I know this has all been covered. When did you become a
17 member of the party?

18 MR. WEYL: Either December of '32 or the January follow-
19 ing.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: So you did not become a member of the
21 party until you returned from Europe?

22 MR. WEYL: That is right.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: So would you be in a position then to
24 estimate at this time when the Social Problems Club became
25 completely under Communist control?

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1 MR. WEYL: All I could say about that matter, Senator,
2 is that when I left for England, in the early spring of '31,
3 it was under socialist control. When I returned from
4 England -- strike that.

5 When I left Columbia, finishing my undergraduate work
6 in '31, it was socialist-controlled, and when I returned
7 from England, in the fall of '32, it was under Communist
8 control.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: The thought that occurs to me is this:
10 that you were not a Communist when you left. You were when
11 you returned. I was just wondering if you would have any way
12 of knowing definitely when you left whether it was under
13 Communist control. You were not a Communist yourself, did
14 not know who the Communist members in the club were. The
15 first time you had contact with it after you returned
16 you knew it was Communist controlled. Is it not entirely
17 possible it was Communist controlled at all the times that
18 you were associated with it?

19 MR. WEYL: No, that wouldn't have been possible, Senator,
20 because we were aware of who the Communist leaders on the
21 campus were.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: I see.

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23 MR. WEYL: And we were aware of the majority that we had.

24 Now, on my return from London -- at this time I was
25 veering toward communism but was still a member of the

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1 Socialist Party.

2 One of the first things I learned in Columbia was that
3 the Socialist who had succeeded me as president had lost
4 control at some time during the academic year in which I was
5 not in the country. He could testify on that matter much
6 more fully, I am sure, and he was certainly there, in the
7 Social Problems Club, at the time of the Reed Harris fight.

8 SENATOR JACKSON: Is he available now?

9 MR. WEYL: I would think so; his name is Maurice Jackson
10 Goldbloom. I have given Mr. Cohn that name.

11 MR. COHN: When you participated in this demonstration
12 meeting in connection with Henderson's ouster, was Henderson
13 at that time a Communist?

14 MR. WEYL: Yes.

15 MR. COHN: And were you a Communist?

16 MR. WEYL: If it is May, yes.

17 MR. COHN: May of '33.

18 MR. WEYL: Right.

19 MR. COHN: You were both Communists?

20 MR. WEYL: Yes.

21 MR. COHN: And you say Mr. Kunitz was a Communist?

22 MR. WEYL: I said "communist" with a small "c". Perhaps
23 I should give my reason for that. Because you asked me, I think,
24 very properly, about Henderson.

25 MR. COHN: Surely.

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1 MR. WEYL: One of my first activities in the Communist
2 Party was to be assigned, I think by Browder, to a committee,
3 which was supposed to organize what I believe was the first
4 anti-Nazi organization in the United States. And this was
5 a steering committee of Communists, in which we discussed
6 means of influencing non-Communists, --

7 MR. COHN: Was he on that?
He was on that.

8 MR. WEYL: / -- so I can't say that he was formally a
9 member of the Communist Party, but he was certainly under
10 party discipline, or he wouldn't have been there.

11 MR. COHN: Can you tell us whether the International
12 Labor Defense was Communist-controlled?

13 MR. WEYL: That is common knowledge, yes.

14 MR. COHN: Did you know Heywood Broun?

15 MR. WEYL: Yes, I did.

16 MR. COHN: Heywood Broun was at one time a socialist;
17 is that right?

18 MR. WEYL: At the time I knew Broun he was active in the
19 Socialist Party.

20 MR. COHN: Do you know whether Heywood Broun became a
21 Communist?

22 MR. WEYL: I do not know that.

23 SENATOR JACKSON: He was an admitted Communist. That is a
24 matter of admission.

25 MR. WEYL: I didn't know that personally, so I can't

1 testify.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: So you had four speakers protesting the
3 removal of a Communist, Donald Henderson; three of them are
4 Communists, two; to your knowledge, the third one by his own
5 admission; the fourth one was Reed Harris.

6 Would you, having been a member of the Communist Party
7 yourself and having been a speaker at that time, attach any
8 significance to Harris being present defending a Communist,
9 with three other Communist speakers defending him also?
10 Would that indicate to you that Harris might also be a member
11 of the party?

12 MR. WEYL: I would not infer from that that he was a
13 member of the party. And may I elaborate on this a bit?

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

15 MR. WEYL: I think I should say, first, that I don't know
16 Mr. Harris and don't know what the evidence is. I am just
17 trying to take it as if it were simply a problem of unknown
18 people. Harris was apparently a very important figure on
19 the Columbia campus, and he was a name with great drawing
20 power.

21 In the first place he had been the editor of the
22 Spectator, and in the second place, he had been expelled under
23 conditions that gave him a lot of publicity.

24 So he would be a logical man to get in on a large protest
25 meeting. And the fact that the other speakers were

1 Communist does not, to my way of thinking, mean that he
2 necessarily was at all.

3 MR. COHN: Does it have any significance?

4 MR. WEYL: Well, I think if you had many such episodes,
5 it would, yes.

6 MR. COHN: In other words, is this a fair statement:
7 You would regard that as one circumstance which, in itself,
8 was certainly not conclusive one way or the other, and you
9 would want to see it in its setting, whether or not it is a
10 pattern, or whether it is an isolated instance, and so on and
11 so forth, along with the other facts in the record?

12 MR. WEYL: Oh, yes. And also depending on his explana-
13 tion of why he was there.

14 I might say, about the Henderson matter, that Henderson's
15 dismissal was defended by a much larger group than the
16 Communist Party.

17 In the first place, there was a conflict between the
18 university and ourselves as to what the issue was about.

19 MR. COHN: You mean between the university and the
20 Communists?

21 MR. WEYL: Yes, or between them and the university, --

22 MR. COHN: As a matter of fact, there was the same
23 controversy as to Harris's dismissal.

24 Columbia said it was for one reason and the Communists
25 said it was for another reason.

1 MR. WEYL: In this case, it would simply be hearsay,
2 because I wasn't there.

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Briefly, why was Harris expelled?
4 We have not had that in the testimony yet.

5 MR. WEYL: I don't remember, sir.

6 SENATOR SYMINGTON: You said it was a very big thing,
7 and yet you still do not remember how big it was or anything
8 about it at all. Is that it?

9 MR. WEYL: That is right. It came to me as something
10 that was already over when I returned, and I had no particular
11 interest in it.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: See if you recall this: At the time that
13 both Henderson was expelled and Harris was expelled, the
14 Communist elements maintained their being expelled was because
15 they were liberals, and that the expulsion has nothing to do
16 with their Communist or radical activities. The university
17 maintained they were expelling them because of their Communist
18 line or extremely radical activities. Is that correct?

19 MR. WEYL: No, sir, it is not. Again, it is my recollec-
20 tion, and I will speak only of the Henderson case, the
21 Social Problems Club took the view that he was expelled for
22 liberalism and for being the president of the National Student
23 League. Now, the university said he was not being expelled
24 because of his political convictions/because he had cut too
25 many classes. He hadn't taken his Ph.D. and it was more or

1 less assumed that after so many years an instructor should
2 do that. The university view was that he had neglected
3 his academic work for political activity.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: And did your Communist group feel he was
5 being expelled because he was a member of the party, because
6 of his activities in the party? Was that what you felt at
7 that time?

8 MR. WEYL: Very frankly, I felt, Senator, that the
9 university was right.

10 SENATOR JACKSON: Are we talking about Henderson now?

11 MR. WEYL: About Henderson.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: I want to know whether the Communist
13 groups, of necessity, had to discuss this matter, about one
14 of their members being expelled.

15 The question is: did they feel he was being expelled
16 because of his Communist activities?

17 MR. WEYL: Yes.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, I do not want to put any words in
19 your mouth, but am I correct in this: that the situation, in
20 so far as Harris was concerned, is almost identical to the
21 Henderson situation in so far as the reasons for expulsion
22 were concerned, in so far as the defense he got from the party
23 and front groups was concerned, in so far as the reasons for
24 which you felt he was expelled? Was it not almost an identical
25 case?

24

1 MR. WEYL: Well, I can't say that. You see, when I got
2 Mr. Cohn's telephone call, I felt I shouldn't go to the
3 morgue and find the facts in this Harris case, and so I have
4 to come here with a very poor recollection of it. I just
5 don't remember at this time why he was expelled or why various
6 groups said he was expelled.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

8 MR. COHN: May we have the Daily Worker article of May
9 11, 1933, in evidence, Mr. Chairman?

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

11 (The article referred to follows:)
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1 MR. COHN: Mr. Donald Henderson?

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Henderson, will you stand and raise
3 your right hand? In this matter now in hearing, do you
4 solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing
5 but the truth, so help you God?

6 MR. HENDERSON: I do.

7 MR. COHN: Mr. Henderson is accompanied by counsel.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Will you identify your counsel?

9 MR. HENDERSON: Irving Rosen.

10 MR. ROSEN: Of the firm of Weisman, Allan, Spett, and
11 Sheinberg.

12 MR. COHN: Mr. Henderson, are you now or have you ever
13 been a member of the Communist Party?

14 TESTIMONY OF DONALD HENDERSON,
15 ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
16 IRVING ROSEN OF WEISMAN, ALLAN,
SPETT, AND SHEINBERG.
NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

17 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
18 and avail myself of my right under the Fifth Amendment.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: You refuse to answer that on the grounds
20 that your answer might incriminate you?

21 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct, sir.

22 MR. COHN: I will ask you specifically: are you at this
23 time a member of the Communist Party?

24 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that and avail
25 myself of my rights under the Fifth Amendment.

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1 MR. COHN: Where were you educated?
2 MR. HENDERSON: At Columbia University.
3 MR. COHN: During what years did you attend Columbia?
4 MR. HENDERSON: '20 to '25.
5 MR. COHN: Did you ever teach at Columbia?
6 MR. HENDERSON: I did, sir.
7 MR. COHN: What did you teach at Columbia?
8 MR. HENDERSON: I taught economics.
9 MR. COHN: And at what time? What year, sir?
10 MR. HENDERSON: 1927 to '32.
11 MR. COHN: And at the time you were teaching in Columbia
12 I will ask you specifically: In 1932, were you a member of
13 the Communist Party?
14 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
15 on the same grounds.
16 MR. COHN: Were you a member of the Communist Party
17 with a man named Reed Harris -- R-e-e-d H-a-r-r-is -- in
18 1932 or at any other time?
19 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question on
20 the same grounds, sir.
21 MR. COHN: Do you know a man by the name of Reed Harris?
22 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question on
23 the same grounds.
24 MR. COHN: You refuse to answer that question?
25 MR. HENDERSON: On the same grounds.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: The first was whether he knows Harris.
2 If knowing another man would incriminate you, I assume you
3 have to interpret this rule very broadly. I believe the
4 courts have held any question which might lead into a question
5 that might incriminate --

6 MR. COHN: The situation might be this, Mr. Chairman.
7 Suppose you assumed Harris were a Communist.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: I believe he is entitled to that privilege.

9 SENATOR SYMINGTON: May I ask a question there?

10 You realize in not answering that question you, in fact,
11 are implying that Harris was a Communist. What is your
12 answer to that?

13 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer on the same
14 grounds, sir.

15 MR. COHN: You refuse to answer Senator Symington's
16 question?

17 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct.

18 SENATOR SYMINGTON: So then you really would like to
19 leave with the committee the idea that Reed Harris was a
20 Communist?

21 MR. HENDERSON: I am not implying anything. I just refuse
22 to answer the question, sir.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask this question. And I assume
24 you will refuse to answer this question also, but just to have
25 the record clear. Was Reed Harris a member of the Communist

28

1 Party at the time you knew him at Columbia?

2 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer the question on
3 the same grounds, sir.

4 SENATOR JACKSON: Did you know Nicholas Murray Butler?

5 MR. HENDERSON: I guess I knew him, sort of.

6 MR. COHN: Let's bring that a little further. Did you
7 know Dean McKnight at Columbia?

8 MR. HENDERSON: I don't recall him.

9 MR. COHN: Did you know Professor Harold Taylor?

10 MR. HENDERSON: I don't recall him.

11 MR. COHN: Did you know Dean Hawkes?

12 MR. HENDERSON: I knew the dean, surely.

13 MR. COHN: Was Dean Hawkes a member of the Communist
14 Party?

15 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
16 on the same grounds, sir.

17 MR. COHN: Let me ask you this, sir: You will tell
18 us you knew Dean Hawkes; is that right?

19 MR. HENDERSON: I knew Dean Hawkes.

20 MR. COHN: Now, did you know a man by the name of
21 Joshua Kunitz, K-u-n-i-t-z?

22 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
23 on the same grounds.

24 MR. COHN: Was Joshua Kunitz a party --

25 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question

1 on the same grounds.

2 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Are you just refusing to answer the
3 questions about people who might or might not be Communists,
4 but you are glad to answer questions about people you are
5 sure are not Communists?

6 MR. HENDERSON: Well, I don't know where these questions
7 are leading. I think you understand the situation I am in.
8 I don't know where these questions are leading me, and I just
9 don't want to incriminate myself.

10 MR. COHN: I asked the witness whether he knew Herbert
11 Hawkes up at Columbia, and he said he did know him, so I
12 think it is established that he is being selective in claiming
13 his privilege.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: He has that right.

15 MR. HENDERSON: Pardon?

16 THE CHAIRMAN: I say you have that right. There is no
17 doubt about it.

18 MR. COHN: You are exercising your privilege in good
19 faith. You are being selective.

20 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct.

21 MR. COHN: You have said you refused to answer whether
22 or not you knew Joshua Kunitz and whether or not he was a
23 Communist.

24 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct.

25 MR. COHN: Did you know Heywood Broun?

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1 MR. HENDERSON: I refuse to answer that question on
2 the same grounds.

3 MR. COHN: Do you know whether Heywood Broun was a
4 Communist?

5 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
6 on the same grounds.

7 MR. COHN: Did you know a man named Hersh
8 connected with the International Labor Defense?

9 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
10 on the same grounds.

11 MR. COHN: Do you know whether or not Mr. Hersh
12 was a Communist?

13 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
14 on the same grounds.

15 MR. COHN: Mr. Henderson, there came a time when your
16 contract at Columbia was not renewed; is that right?

17 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct.

18 MR. COHN: When it was not renewed were there certain
19 demonstrations and protests?

20 MR. HENDERSON: I think so.

21 MR. COHN: Was the Communist Party instrumental in
22 any of them?

23 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
24 on the same grounds, sir.

25 MR. COHN: Specifically, do you recall a meeting that

1 took place on May the 11th, 1933?

2 I will withdraw that.

3 Do you know a man by the name of Nathaniel Weyl?

4 MR. HENDERSON: I refuse to answer that question on the
5 same grounds.

6 MR. COHN: You refuse to answer whether or not you know
7 him?

8 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct.

9 MR. COHN: Did you shake hands and say "Hello,
10 Nat," when you met him out in the hall?

11 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
12 on the same grounds.

13 MR. COHN: Now, getting back to this meeting --

14 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Let me ask you a couple of questions.
15 Are you an American citizen?

16 MR. HENDERSON: Yes, sir.

17 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, now, if you are a member of the
18 Communist Party today, why are you not proud of it, instead
19 of being ashamed of it and ducking these questions the way
20 you are ducking them?

21 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
22 on the same grounds, sir. I do not know where you are taking
23 me.

24 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I do not know where you are heading
25 us, either, a lot of us.

1 MR. HENDERSON: And I don't want to incriminate
2 myself, sir.

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I think you are anxious not to
4 incriminate yourself, but it appears to me that you are
5 incriminating other people.

6 MR. HENDERSON: It is the last thing I want to do in
7 this world.

8 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I think the last thing you want
9 to do is come in here and implicate others as members of
10 the Communist Party.

11 MR. HENDERSON: That is the last thing I want to be.

12 SENATOR SYMINGTON: To be perfectly frank with you,
13 it appears to me that is what you are doing.

14 SENATOR JACKSON: You admit you know certain people, and
15 when questioned about another name you exercise your privi-
16 lege, and the inference is that in distinguishing between
17 the two, one group falls in a Communist category and the
18 other group falls in a non-Communist category.

19 MR. HENDERSON: Well, that is your inference, not mine,
20 sir.

21 SENATOR JACKSON: Is that your inference?

22 MR. HENDERSON: I wouldn't say so.

23 SENATOR JACKSON: You would not say so. That is what
24 I am concerned about, if you are going to put some people
25 who are innocent in a bad light.

1 MR. HENDERSON: I think perjury is a bum beef, and
2 I won't finger anybody. It is just that simple. And I
3 am not going to incriminate myself if I can help it.

4 SENATOR SYMINGTON: It looks to me, using your own
5 language, that in order not to incriminate yourself, you are
6 putting the finger on other people.

7 MR. HENDERSON: That is certainly not my intention,
8 and I think you are absolutely mistaken in drawing such an
9 inference.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: In fairness to the witness, Senator
11 Symington, he was asked whether he knew Heywood Broun.
12 Heywood Broun has admitted he was a member of the Communist
13 Party.

14 May I finish?

15 He was asked about other individuals that were either
16 identified as Communists or who have admitted they were
17 Communists. He refused to answer whether he knew them or
18 not. I think he has that privilege.

19 SENATOR SYMINGTON: But he was asked about Reed Harris.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: I assume Reed Harris was in the same
21 category or he would not refuse.

22 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I assume so, too. That is the purpose
23 of this hearing, is it not, to find out if Reed Harris was a
24 Communist?

25 MR. COHN: I wouldn't say it is that limited.

1 SENATOR SYMINGTON: But that is a pretty important
2 part of it, and by his answers he obviously has implied
3 that Reed Harris is a Communist. That was my only point.
4 Not being a lawyer, you have got to forgive me if I just try
5 to exercise --

6 THE CHAIRMAN: I was not trying to criticize. I think
7 your inference is correct.

8 Mr. Henderson, let me ask you this question. If someone
9 were to ask you whether you knew Senator Symington or Senator
10 Jackson or myself or Senator Potter, you would not refuse
11 to answer that on the grounds it would incriminate you?

12 MR. HENDERSON: Yes.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: And for the same reasons?

14 MR. HENDERSON: Yes.

15 MR. COHN: Didn't I ask you whether you knew Dean
16 Hawkes of Columbia?

17 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct.

18 MR. COHN: And you claimed no privilege as to him?

19 MR. HENDERSON: Correct.

20 MR. COHN: Would you claim a privilege as to whether you
21 knew one of the Senators?

22 MR. HENDERSON: I would now, sir.

23 MR. COHN: You would now. You mean since Senator
24 Symington asked the questions he did?

25 MR. HENDERSON: Yes.

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1 MR. COHN: In other words, so as to indicate now that
2 you were not being selective in refusing to answer concern-
3 ing Mr. Harris. Is that right?

4 MR. HENDERSON: My answer speaks for itself.

5 MR. COHN: Well, I think you your pattern of conduct does.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: If that is the way the witness is using
7 his privilege, let us do this a little deeper.

8 MR. HENDERSON: Pardon?

9 THE CHAIRMAN: In view of that answer, I think there are
10 certain answers we will order you to make.

11 Do you honestly feel that if you tell us at this time
12 whether you knew Harris was or was not a member of the
13 Communist Party, your answer might tend to incriminate you?

14 MR. HENDERSON: You are asking me the question?

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

16 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer on the grounds --

17 THE CHAIRMAN: You will be ordered to answer that.

18 MR. HENDERSON: I still must refuse to answer on the
19 grounds of self-incrimination.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: You may want to consult with counsel.

21 I am going to ask the committee to take contempt
22 proceedings on this.

23 You may want to consult with counsel.

24 I merely asked him whether he feels an answer to that
25 question would tend to incriminate him, and he refused to

1 answer. He is not entitled to any privilege there. So I
2 will ask the committee for a contempt citation in this case.

3 MR. ROSEN: May we have the question read back,
4 Senator?

5 (Brief recess.)

6 (Question was read by the reporter.)

7 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me repeat the question and see if
8 you want to answer.

9 I will repeat this question and Senator Symington
10 may have a further question.

11 I repeat the question: Mr. Henderson, do you at this
12 time honestly feel that if you were to tell us whether you
13 knew that Harris was or was not a member of the Communist
14 Party, that answer would tend to incriminate you?

15 MR. HENDERSON: I think so, yes.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: You are entitled to the privilege, then.
17 Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

18 MR. COHN: I have nothing much more, Mr. Chairman.

19 No, I don't have any more on this.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you recall, Mr. Henderson, the meeting
21 organized in your behalf at Columbia when you were discharged,
22 when your contract was not renewed, at which four people,
23 including Reed Harris, spoke? Do you remember that meeting?

24 MR. HENDERSON: No, sir.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: You would not care to tell us at this time,

1 or rather --

2 To save time, I have a number of questions I would like
3 to ask you about your association with Harris, whether
4 you helped organize a meeting, whether you asked him to
5 speak in your behalf, your social contacts, if any.

6 There is not much to be gained by going into that if
7 your answer to all questions would be that you refuse to
8 answer on the ground that it would incriminate you.

9 Would that be correct?

10 MR. HENDERSON: I would think it would, sir. I would
11 hate to make a general flat statement, but I think probably
12 my feeling would be that the answers to those questions
13 would tend to incriminate me.

14 SENATOR POTTER: Mr. Henderson, I have one question.

15 Do you condemn the Jewish purges that have gone on in
16 the Communist countries today?

17 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that question
18 on the grounds of self-incrimination.

19 SENATOR SYMINGTON: You would make the same answer to
20 a question that you would approve of them; would you not?

21 MR. HENDERSON: Beg pardon?

22 SENATOR SYMINGTON: You would make the same answer to a
23 question as to whether you approved of those purges?

24 MR. HENDERSON: Yes, sir.

25 SENATOR SYMINGTON: We have had witnesses before this

1 committee who have testified that to the best of their
2 knowledge and belief you were a Communist. They have also
3 testified to the best of their knowledge and belief that
4 Reed Harris was not a Communist.

5 On that basis, I would like to ask you again: Do you
6 know anything which makes you feel or have you had any experi-
7 ence as to whether or not Reed Harris was a Communist?

8 THE CHAIRMAN: May I say that we have had it from witnes-
9 ses who testified to the best of their knowledge he was not
10 a Communist.

11 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Let me rephrase my question.

12 There has been nobody who asserted before this committee
13 that Harris was a Communist. At least, when I have been in
14 the hearing. But there have been people who asserted that you
15 were.

16 Now, if you do not answer this question, by implication,
17 my only point was, you are implying that Harris was. The
18 other witnesses have not taken the legal run out under the
19 Constitution as to answering that question. That still does
20 not influence your decision to make the same answer. Is
21 that correct?

22 MR. HENDERSON: That is correct.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Henderson, we will want you available
24 for a further hearing.

25 Are you living in New York, or Washington?

1 MR. HENDERSON: In New York.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Your lawyer is from New York, too, I
3 assume?

4 MR. ROSEN: Yes, sir.

5 MR. COHN: Mr. Harris wrote a book in 1932, which he
6 called "King Football," in which he stated at page 150:

7 "My first discovery was that two young instructors,
8 one a militant socialist and the other a Communist, both
9 graduates of Columbia, were slated for dismissal at the end
10 of the year for being too radical. I further learned that
11 appointments of instructors are made for one year only at
12 Columbia and that any man may be quietly dropped at the
13 end of an academic year, without explanation -- a system
14 obviously designed to avoid unpleasant controversy over
15 intolerance and regimentation of thought within an allegedly
16 liberal university."

17 Was Mr. Harris referring to you as that Communist
18 instructor whose contract was not renewed?

19 MR. HENDERSON: I wouldn't know.

20 MR. COHN: You have never discussed this with him?

21 MR. HENDERSON: Is this on the record?

22 MR. COHN: Yes, this is on the record.

23 MR. HENDERSON: I have never discussed anything like
24 this with Harris.

25 MR. COHN: You have never discussed this book or the
preparation of this material?

1 MR. HENDERSON: Not to my knowledge.

2 MR. COHN: Have you ever discussed anything with Mr.
3 Harris?

4 MR. HENDERSON: Now, you are getting me - what is this?
5 I refuse to answer.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you work with Mr. Harris on the
7 writing of this book?

8 MR. HENDERSON: I must refuse to answer that on the
9 same grounds, sir.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Anything further, Mr. Counsel?

11 MR. COHN: No.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: That is all.

13 (Whereupon, at 12:14 p.m., a recess was taken until
14 1:30 p.m., this same day.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 1:30 o'clock p.m., upon the expiration of the recess.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I wonder if you would both stand and be sworn. In this matter now in hearing before the committee, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. PUHAN: I do.

MR. THOMPSON: I do.

THE CHAIRMAN: Incidentally, in this testimony in executive session, if you care to look over your testimony and correct it from the standpoint of typographical errors or anything like that, you will be allowed to do that. However, we only have three copies made, so we can not very well send copies out to you. So, if you want to see them, you will have to come down to the committee room, and you may have a desk there to go over your testimony.

MR. JOHN: Mr. Puhon, might I ask you a few questions, first?

What is your title?

TESTIMONY OF ALFRED PUHAN, PROGRAM MANAGER,
VOICE OF AMERICA, AND JAMES F. THOMPSON,
DIVISION OF RADIO FACILITIES OPERATIONS,
VOICE OF AMERICA.

MR. PUHAN: My title is Program Manager of the Voice of America.

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1 MR. COHN: Mr. Puhon, what we want to ask you about
2 today is this: Are you familiar with a certain series of
3 incidents which resulted in an order coming from a man
4 named Reed Harris, to the effect that the entire Hebrew
5 Language Service in the Voice of America should be terminated?

6 MR. PUHAN: I am.

7 MR. COHN: First of all, do you know Mr. Harris?

8 MR. PUHAN: I do.

9 MR. COHN: Who is Mr. Harris?

10 MR. PUHAN: He was the Deputy Administrator to Mr.
11 Compton, of the entire Information Program, and I believe
12 is now the Acting Administrator.

13 MR. COHN: Does that mean that he was Deputy Administra-
14 tor, second in command under Dr. Compton?

15 MR. PUHAN: That is correct.

16 MR. COHN: Being Acting Administrator, he, of course,
17 would be acting in that capacity for the entire information
18 program, the Voice of America, the movies --

19 MR. PUHAN: The entire Information Program, including
20 all of the various fields of the Information Program,
21 including the Voice of America, the whole works.

22 MR. COHN: Did there come a time, in the summer of 1952,
23 when a request came through for certain budgetary cuts?

24 MR. PUHAN: Yes, there did.

25 MR. COHN: And did you people in the Voice of America

1 prepare a schedule stating in what order these cuts should
2 be carried into effect?

3 In other words, did you sort of setup a priority
4 system? Did you say, "We can cut here; it won't
5 matter so much."? And then, did you leave what you regarded
6 as the very important items as the last ones to be cut?

7 MR. PUHAN: Yes, I set up a series of priorities,
8 starting with what I considered our least important, namely,
9 our English language, and ending up with Spanish. If I had
10 continued it to a logical conclusion, the last to be cut,
11 would be, of course, our Russian Language Service.

12 MR. COHN: Let me interrupt and ask you: Did you break
13 this down into a priority of some fifteen items?

14 MR. PUHAN: That is correct.

15 MR. COHN: And did you regard continuation of the
16 Hebrew Language Service as a pretty important thing?

17 MR. PUHAN: I did.

18 MR. COHN: What number did you list that as?

19 MR. PUHAN: I believe the number was thirteen.

20 MR. COHN: Number 13. So, in other words, out of the
21 fifteen items, you rated the Hebrew language service as so
22 important that it was practically one of the last three out
23 of the fifteen that you would want eliminated. Is that
24 right?

25 MR. PUHAN: That is correct.

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1 MR. COHN: How was this?

2 MR. PUHAN: I had started the Hebrew desk. I felt that
3 the United States of America, if it had a Voice of America,
4 could not broadcast only to the Arab world but should also
5 broadcast to the State of Israel. There were obviously
6 reasons, from a policy point of view, why one should reach
7 reach the people, not only the people who were there, but
8 also the many refugees that were coming from behind the
9 Iron Curtain and from various other places that had to be
10 reached by the Voice of America. I had urged the setting
11 up of this desk. It was set up in 1951. I felt it was
12 just hitting its stride at that time, because, as you
13 gentlemen must be aware, it takes some time to get a desk
14 so that it is shaken down and has the experienced personnel.
15 required.

16 MR. COHN: So you listed that as No. 13 out of fifteen?

17 MR. PUHAN: That is right.

18 MR. COHN: Did there come a time at the beginning of
19 December in 1952 when a determined effort was made to require
20 you to eliminate the entire Hebrew Language Service?

21 MR. PUHAN: I was ordered to do so.

22 MR. COHN: Who ordered you to do that?

23 MR. PUHAN: A memorandum that came either to Mr.
24 Francis or to me was signed by Reed Harris.

25 MR. COHN: Now, was this a particularly significant

1 period, the beginning of December 1952, in so far as the
2 Hebrew language Service of the Voice of America was concerned?

3 Mr. PUHAN: I considered it an extremely unwise time
4 to make this move, for the simple reason that I believe it
5 was the month before or a little bit earlier -- the time
6 is not too exact -- when we received word of the anti-
7 Semitic purges behind the Iron Curtain. I am referring to
8 the Slansky trial, and the fact that here for the first
9 time we were given a real issue with which to broadcast to
10 Israel.

11 It was certainly an opportunity for us to show the
12 people of the State of Israel that the Soviet Union, with
13 all of its brutality, had no regard for religion whatsoever,
14 and that here was a time when we could pour it on, if you
15 don't mind my saying that. So I thought it was particularly
16 inopportune to do it at that time.

17 Mr. COHN: All right. Now, feeling that it was
18 inopportune, did you make representations to Reed Harris's
19 office objecting to the elimination of the Hebrew Service?

20 Mr. PUHAN: I made such objections. I based them on
21 the argument that you gentlemen have just heard, the breaking
22 out of anti-Semitic purges behind the Iron Curtain. I based
23 them on the fact that I thought or knew that there would be
24 some delicate Arab-Hebrew or -Israeli issues coming up
25 in the UN, where both sides might be jockeying for position.

1 that this was not the opportune time, if indeed such broad-
2 casts had to be suspended, to suspend them. I did bring
3 that to their attention.

4 MR. COHN: Did you send a telegram to Reed Harris,
5 under date December 4, 1952, raising an objection, saying:

6 "The question is whether I has taken into account
7 the following factors:

8 "(A). Tel-Aviv has just asked us to use VOA full
9 blast on the recent Czech-anti-Semitism purges.

10 "(B). While anti-Semitism flourishes behind the
11 Curtain and where a tremendously important political
12 issue has been handed the Hebrew desk, is this the time
13 to suspend Hebrew broadcasts?"

14 Did you teletype to that effect?

15 MR. PUHAN: That is correct.

16 MR. COHN: On the same day, did you receive a tele-
17 type back as follows:

18 "Confirming our telephone conversation with
19 regard to your questions for Reed Harris:

20 "1. Hebrew: Harris will send memorandum instruct-
21 ing suspension of Hebrew language broadcasts as soon
22 as possible. He states that this was clearly a PAB
23 decision and that nothing new has happened to change
24 that decision."

25 That means a budgetary decision?

1 MR. PUHAN: Those are the Program Allocations Board,
2 of which he or Compton was the chairman.

3 MR. COHN: Was Compton in town at this time?

4 MR. PUHAN: Compton was in Europe, or on his round-
5 the-world trip.

6 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Why did the budget come up suddenly
7 like that to stop the program? Is there any reason for it
8 being a PAB program?

9 MR. PUHAN: Well, Senator, it had, of course, come up
10 earlier. As I think counsel pointed out, there had been
11 talk about cutting this. There was some request at that time
12 for further cuts, because I believe there was a change, or
13 funds had to be transferred from the Information side to the
14 Administrative side of the Department. But I am speaking
15 from indirect knowledge, Senator.

16 MR. COHN: This was clearly a PAB decision. You have
17 told us Mr. Harris was PAB.

18 MR. PUHAN: He was, or Compton, but Compton was on his
19 trip.

20 MR. COHN: "and that nothing new has happened to change
21 the decision. The cable from Tel-Aviv regarding Prague
22 trials does not alter decision particularly in the light of
23 current budget situation."

24 Was such a teletype received by you?

25 MR. PUHAN: I believe that is correct.

1 MR. COHN: I might ask, Mr. Chairman, that the teletype
2 from Mr. Puhon, here, to Reed Harris, objecting to the
3 elimination of the Hebrew Service, be received as an exhibit,
4 and that the reply teletype be received as an exhibit, at
5 this time.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Very well.

7 (The telegrams referred to were marked as Exhibits
8 Executive 9 and Executive 10, and filed for the information
9 of the committee.)
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1 MR. COHN: And I would ask you this. The next day,
2 December 5th, did you receive a memorandum, did your office
3 receive a memorandum, initialed by Reed Harris, confirming
4 this cable, and directing the suspension of the Hebrew
5 broadcasts as soon as possible?

6 MR. PUHAN: The memorandum is correct; I am not sure
7 of the date.

8 MR. COHN: December 5, 1952?

9 MR. PUHAN: If that is the date on it, that is correct.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Would you read the entire memorandum?

11 MR. COHN: This is from Reed Harris to Mr. Robert
12 Francis. He works for you up in New York?

13 MR. PUHAN: He is the Comptroller of the Voice of
14 America, and he and I were at that time in charge of the
15 office in New York, because of Mr. Morton's absence.

16 MR. COHN: (Reading) "Confirming my conversation with
17 Sidney Sulkin and in accordance with discussions held
18 in the PAB with regard to the effectiveness of Hebrew
19 language broadcasts, you are requested to suspend such
20 broadcasts as soon as possible. The Bureau of Near
21 Eastern and African Affairs has been consulted and
22 agrees with this decision, as does IFI/N."

23 By the way, who is head of the Bureau of Near East and
24 African Affairs? Do you know? Is that a man named Sanger?

25 MR. THOMPSON: Not hardly. I would know the name if I

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1 heard it.

2 MR. SURINE: That is what Brad Connors said.

3 MR. COHN: (Reading) "I am aware of the public rela-
4 tions problems which could result. However, the proven
5 weakness of the signal we can get into Israel with
6 existing transmitters makes the Jewish programs so
7 markedly ineffective that we cannot justify continuation
8 in the face of the \$600,000 cut in the IBS budget."

9 Let me ask you this. Is that true, about not being
10 able to get the broadcasts effectively through as of that
11 time?

12 MR. PUHAN: It was my impression from the technical
13 people, the engineering people, that the presence of the
14 Ship Courier in the eastern Mediterranean had improved that
15 situation greatly, and that the signal was getting in.

16 You may want to ask Mr. Thompson.

17 MR. COHN: Just tell us at this point, Mr. Thompson:
18 What is your opinion? Was this stuff getting into Israel?

19 MR. THOMPSON: I would say that the signal was rated
20 from Fair to Good to Excellent, all of those being an entire-
21 ly satisfactory signal, in excess of, oh, 75 per cent of the
22 reports that I saw. And there were a substantial number of
23 reports.

24 MR. COHN: Very well.

25 SENATOR SYMINGTON: You say "Fair" to "Good," to "Excel-

1 lent." What are the other ratings they could have given it?

2 MR. THOMPSON: There could have been Poor, or Unintel-
3 ligible. That is as far down as we normally go.

4 MR. COHN: Did you, on December 11, 1952, send a memo-
5 randum to Mr. Reed Harris as follows:

6 May I read the whole thing, Mr. Chairman? I think it
7 is quite important.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Very well.

9 MR. COHN: (Reading) "We are in receipt of your memo-
10 randum on the above subject, dated December 5, 1952."

11 That is the one we just put in the record.

12 "In accordance with your order 'to suspend such
13 broadcasts as soon as possible', we are now taking all
14 the necessary steps to comply with your order."

15 Then you say that January 15th will be the earliest date you
16 can do it.

17 "The estimated total savings made by taking this
18 step on January 15, 1953 will be \$30,557, which has
19 already been calculated in the 1953 column of the
20 revised 1954 IBS budget.

21 "While complying with your order, we feel it
22 incumbent upon us to point out to you again that the
23 public relations problem, of which you say that you
24 are aware, has not been correctly assessed in Washington.
25 We feel that the repercussions following your order will

1 be severe.

2 "Moreover, it is our duty to point out to you that
3 'the proven weakness of the signal we can get into
4 Israel with existing transmitters' no longer exists.

5 The presence of Courier in the eastern Mediterranean
6 has, to the best of our knowledge, remedied that situa-
7 tion."

8 Was such a memorandum sent through to Mr. Reed Harris?

9 MR. PUHAN: That is correct.

10 MR. COHN: May I ask you one other question at this
11 point: When Mr. Reed Harris originally instructed the suspen-
12 sion of these Hebrew broadcasts and you made objection along
13 these lines, stating that this was in view of the fact that
14 they were screaming for Voice programs over in Israel, because
15 of the wonderful propaganda that had been handed to us by the
16 Russian anti-Semitic purges, in what form was this order
17 received from Mr. Harris?

18 MR. PUHAN: The memorandum, there.

19 MR. COHN: Did he come to New York around this period
20 of time?

21 MR. PUHAN: I believe he did.

22 MR. COHN: Mr. Thompson?

23 MR. THOMPSON: I believe he delivered the memorandum by
24 hand.

25 MR. COHN: He delivered that by hand. Wasn't that some-

1 what unusual?

2 MR. THOMPSON: I would say it was unusual, because I
3 rarely ever saw him in New York.

4 MR. COHN: And he came up, and he delivered this,
5 your recollection is, personally by hand. Is that right?

6 MR. THOMPSON: I believe he delivered it to Mr. Francis
7 on the third floor, General Motors Building.

8 MR. COHN: Was this delivery made the day after the
9 cable and telephone instructions had been received?

10 MR. THOMPSON: You see, I am not wholly aware of that
11 exchange there, just when it took place. I knew it took
12 place, but I didn't know just when.

13 MR. PUHAN: Let me say: I don't believe I received it
14 from Harris directly. I believe I received it from Mr.
15 Francis.

16 MR. COHN: Who had received it from Mr. Harris?

17 MR. PUHAN: Who had received it from Mr. Harris.

18 MR. COHN: Was it your recollection that Mr. Harris
19 had brought it up in person?

20 MR. PUHAN: That was my recollection, yes.

21 MR. COHN: Let me ask you this, Mr. Puhane. Do you feel
22 that the suspension of the Hebrew broadcasts at that time --
23 did you feel, as Director of Operations for the Voice, that
24 if they had been suspended at that time there would have been
25 any effect on the anti-Communist program of the Voice?

1 Mr. PUHAN: Well, as the man who has been responsible
2 for setting up these programs and who believes in them and
3 has tried very hard to make them effective, I certainly
4 thought it was not the time to cut a program that was now
5 given the splendid opportunity that this was to do a hard
6 anti-Communist job. And I would certainly be most reluc-
7 tant to see anything like that done, particularly at that
8 time. It is, as you have heard me say, one of forty-six
9 language desks. It is not as important as the Russian,
10 nor is it as insignificant as some others that I have.

11 In other words, I felt that that was not the time to
12 cut. I thought that the impression that would be given, in
13 Israel for one thing, was that possibly we were going along
14 with the purge idea.

15 As for the Arabs, I am fully aware that we must also
16 not lose sight of this tremendously important block of peoples
17 that goes all the way from northern Africa into Indonesia.

18 On the other hand, I think it was a stupid decision, or
19 a stupid order -- because I was under orders, as you under-
20 stand -- to cut; and I do not think that that was an intelli-
21 gent order.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: May I ask this: The concern about the
23 effect upon the Arab people, I assume, would not be too great,
24 in view of the fact that you were beaming this out in the
25 Jewish language.

1 MR. PUHAN: No, the Arabs would be for it, probably,
2 you see.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: No, you did not get my thought. The
4 question is: Would this reach many Arab people, in view
5 of the fact that it was being beamed in the Jewish language?
6 In other words, do we have the Arabs speaking the Jewish
7 language?

8 MR. PUHAN: Well, sir, there are, as you know, in
9 Israel many Arabs.

10 MR. COHN: But they favor the Israeli government?

11 MR. PUHAN: Well, I am not sure of that, but I presume,
12 since they continue living there, that they abide by the
13 rules and regulations of the government.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think you get my thought. In
15 other words, the persecution of the Jews in Communist Russia,
16 if publicized all over the Arab world, might create friend-
17 ship toward Communist Russia amongst those Arabs who are
18 definitely anti-Jewish?

19 MR. PUHAN: That is right, Senator.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: And that could be one reason to close up
21 the Hebrew desk, when they started beaming to Israel this
22 anti-Semitism, as finally made public by the Communists.

23 But my question is this:

24 In view of the fact that the broadcast would be in the
25 Jewish language, which I assume would get to very, very

1 small segments of the Arab world, in view of the fact that
2 most of the Arab people do not speak Hebrew --

3 MR. PUHAN: That is correct.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: -- so that would not be a serious
5 problem, I gather.

6 MR. PUHAN: No. There is one other aspect of that,
7 that I noticed in the paper this morning our President has
8 stated that we have no intention to sell Israel down the
9 river, and I think that while this requires certainly the
10 greatest care so that we do not lose the Arab state -- we
11 do not want to do that; it is a very important group of
12 people -- on the other hand, we have also our intention of
13 maintaining our friends in Israel, and it is not our inten-
14 tion to lose friends wherever we have them.

15 MR. COHN: Did you raise another objection, on the
16 grounds that such a decision should not be made before the
17 Eisenhower administration took office?

18 MR. PUHAN: Yes, I made this comment, and I don't recall
19 to whom precisely, but I stated at the time, I believe, and
20 I am recalling here, that if this order were to take place,
21 the earliest time at which it could be accomplished would be
22 January 15th. Because there would have to be given thirty
23 day termination notices to the employees, and so on. And I
24 pointed out that the date coincided or might very likely co-
25 incide with the change in administration, and I did not think

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1 it fair to possibly saddle a new President, our new Presi-
2 dent, with this kind of a public relations problem. I am
3 certainly aware of the situation in the United States here,
4 public relations-wise, and I did not think this was a good
5 idea.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Also, might it not create the impression
7 in Israel, if we knocked off this Hebrew broadcast coincident
8 with Eisenhower's assuming the presidency, might it not
9 create the obvious impression over there, that General
10 Eisenhower was responsible for the changed attitude? It
11 could create a serious problem that way, too.

12 MR. PUHAN: That is always possible, Senator. Because,
13 you know, it is difficult to tell how people will interpret
14 what may be a negligible act, a small thing. But abroad,
15 if it is the official word, it can by some person be traced
16 back or be believed to have come directly from the top.
17 That is a possibility.

18 MR. COHN: By the way, even after Mr. Harris delivered
19 these written instructions, did you agree to abide by them?

20 MR. PUHAN: No, I felt this was an emergency, and I was,
21 together with Mr. Francis, in charge of the office. I asked
22 if I could get in touch with my boss, the Director of the
23 Voice, Mr. Morton. I put through a long distance telephone
24 call to Paris, where I could not reach him, but I did get
25 hold of him the next day. And I informed him of what I

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1 considered a serious matter and told him that unfortunately
2 Dr. Compton was abroad, and Mr. Morton was abroad, and we
3 were left here alone in New York, and I did not feel that I
4 wanted to carry out this order, although I was, under orders.
5 This must have been about the middle of the week, and he told
6 me that he would be back by the end of the week, or by Monday,
7 and to hold off on the order until he returned.

8 MR. COHN: Now, subsequently, to make a long story
9 short, here, was there congressional pressure, and a review
10 of the thing, and was the order finally rescinded and the
11 Hebrew Language Service kept in effect?

12 MR. PUHAN: Mr. Cohn, I can only tell you what I heard
13 about this. I can't verify this. But I heard that Senator
14 Wiley, and Mr. Taber, had inquired, I don't believe of us in
15 New York but I believe in Washington, as to whether this
16 was going to take place.

17 MR. COHN: I might say for the record, Mr. Chairman,
18 we were advised this morning by Senator Wiley's office, that,
19 knowing he was going to assume the chairmanship of the
20 Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he made a written
21 representation to the State Department that this was a very
22 serious mistake in the foreign policy of this country and
23 insisted that that order be changed.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: I know we have had testimony on this,
25 but I missed some of the dates here. The date that Mr.

1 Harris went to New York and delivered the order?

2 MR. COHN: We are not sure of that date, Mr. Chairman.
3 It was either December 4th or December 5th. I think the
4 memorandum reflects the date of December 5th.

5 MR. PUHAN: Yes, the memorandum that you read, I believe
6 has December 5th.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: I understand Mr. Harris was informed
8 that, because of the lag in putting the order into effect,
9 if the Voice complied with the order, it would be about
10 January 15th before the broadcast would be discontinued.
11 Is that correct?

12 MR. PUHAN: Yes, and in any event, he would know it
13 would take thirty days.

14 May I point out one more thing? As is the case with
15 some of the desks, it would have meant returning to Israel
16 some employees that had been hired over there, because of
17 their qualifications, and would have meant, I believe, the
18 ending of a contract prematurely with these people and
19 shipping them back.

20 MR. COHN: That would have cost a lot more money; is
21 that right?

22 MR. PUHAN: That is why the sum of money that would
23 have been saved for the rest of the fiscal year would have
24 been a relatively small amount. You see, we would have had
25 to return some of these employees.

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1 MR. COHN: So, in other words, these two arguments
2 they made, the argument on the budget, number one, and the
3 effectiveness of the signal -- is this a fair statement? --
4 were not anywhere near as important, on the one side, as
5 the effect of discontinuing the service on the other side?

6 MR. PUHAN: That is right.

7 MR. COHN: You have said you regarded this as a stupid
8 decision. Do you think it was anything more than a stupid
9 decision?

10 MR. PUHAN: You are asking me for an opinion? I don't
11 know. I can only tell you what I think, what my impression
12 was of that.

13 MR. COHN: What was your impression?

14 MR. PUHAN: Well, again, I felt that at this time, to
15 take this kind of an act, seemed like a strange decision.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, you feel that any man
17 of normal intelligence who really was interested in dissemi-
18 nating information in that section of the world which would
19 show communism in its true light would have increased the
20 size of the program, and the broadcast, at that time, rather
21 than discontinuing it?

22 MR. PUHAN: Well, Senator, my Division chief in charge
23 of the Near East, Mr. Duerr, and I, felt that this was no
24 time to cut this program, and this was the time to improve it.

25 SENATOR MUNDT: Let me ask if you any effort was made

1 to eliminate or to curtail or play down the anti-Semitic
2 phases of communism in Russia except in the broadcasts to
3 Israel. Was there any effort to eliminate emphasis on that
4 phase of Communist policy in other broadcasts, in other
5 countries, in other languages?

6 MR. PUHAN: Well, Senator, I am not the policy director
7 of the Voice, but I sit every morning at 9:30 meetings when
8 the policy is discussed. I felt that the Soviet Union
9 had handed us a ready-made propaganda weapon at this point.
10 I think it would be testified to by at least one hundred
11 people in the position I took.

12 I said, "Let's let them have it with all the force we
13 have. Here is a concrete example of brutality toward
14 religion."

15 I even pointed out at the time, to a somewhat worried
16 Arabic section, that it might be pointed out to the Arabs
17 that although their sentiments might be anti-Semitic, it
18 is the Jews today, and it will be Arabs tomorrow.

19 SENATOR MUNDT: They can hardly be anti-Semitic, be-
20 cause they are Semites. They are anti-Zion.

21 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

22 SENATOR MUNDT: I agree your reasoning is sound, and the
23 question I raised is whether, in this New York shop, they
24 simply tried to play down the anti-Semitic phases of
25 communism in Israel, or whether they also tried to play it

1 down in the tenor of the broadcast reaching other sections
2 of the world where there might be and would be a lot of
3 Jewish listeners.

4 SENATOR JACKSON: Behind the Iron Curtain, for example,
5 where it could be very effective. There is not too much
6 need, though I suppose a certain amount, to direct it toward
7 Israel, but there it was a clear and present danger to them.

8 SENATOR MUNDT: Mr. Chairman, I can see some validity
9 in the point of view that broadcasting this particular phase
10 of Communist policy to the Arabs might boomerang. I do not
11 know how many Arabs there are, whether they speak the same
12 language they speak in Jerusalem, but if they do, I can see
13 the argument. Whereas, if that is just one facet up
14 there, and you can see evidence that the same group up there,
15 Mr. Harris and those associated with him, were trying to
16 delete from our overseas broadcast mention of the anti-
17 Semitic qualities of communism, then I think we would have
18 a pattern much more significant than this one instance of
19 closing up the Hebrew desk.

20 SENATOR JACKSON: But it does seem a little ridiculous
21 to close up the Hebrew desk at a time when the Russians have,
22 for the first time, since the Czar, come out on a positive
23 anti-Semitic tone. Previously, they have had Jewish purges,
24 but they were called "deviationists," and it was supposedly
25 failure to follow the dictates of Stalin.

4

1 SENATOR MUNDT: There have been several instances of
2 anti-Semitism before this. Litvinov was a case in point.

3 SENATOR JACKSON: But they dismissed him on the grounds
4 that he was following the doctrine that communism and
5 capitalism could live in the same world, and Stalin preached
6 that it could not.

7 MR. COHN: Was there any doubt, Mr. Puhon, that this
8 was by far the most effective argument that had ever been
9 presented, certainly in the life of the Voice, as an appeal
10 to Jewish listeners, both in Israel and in other areas
11 throughout the world?

12 MR. PUHAN: Well, to my mind, on the Hebrew issue,
13 this was the most important. I might add one other thing.

14 MR. COHN: Let me interrupt for just a moment. I want
15 to follow up Senator Mundt's point. If you cut off Hebrew
16 Language Service, you are not only cutting off the Jewish
17 language service to Israel, but to Jews all over the world.
18 Because is it not a fact that the platters and broadcasts
19 going to Israel were also used as a basis for broadcasts to
20 other Hebrew areas throughout the world?

21 MR. PUHAN: I believe that material that was sent out
22 was based on the broadcasts.

23 MR. COHN: So that when you knock out the Hebrew lang-
24 uage service --

25 SENATOR MUNDT: Yes, I think the important point, Roy,

1 which we should get in the record with some degree of
2 definiteness, is this: As I understand Mr. Puhon's testi-
3 mony, he is not exactly certain. He says he "believes."
4 I think he should have an opportunity to verify and see.
5 Because if that is true, that is very significant.

6 MR. SCHINE: Mr. Puhon, did you consider it particularly
7 unusual that Mr. Harris, who was the Deputy Administrator
8 of the entire information program, should take such a
9 specific interest in this specific aspect of the Voice of
10 America programming?

11 MR. PUHAN: Well, I may have been partially responsible
12 for forcing that memorandum out of him, because I had re-
13 ceived somewhat ambiguous instructions on this. And I
14 refused, and I am under oath, but I do believe I said at one
15 time, and I don't recall to whom, that I would not like to
16 carry out this order unless I had the Secretary of State's --

17 MR. THOMPSON: I heard him say that.

18 MR. PUHAN: -- signature.

19 MR. COHN: Mr. Thompson, may I ask you this? Am I
20 not correct in stating that this would have meant not only a
21 stoppage of Hebrew broadcasts to Israel but a stoppage of
22 all Hebrew broadcasts?

23 MR. THOMPSON: It meant this: The Hebrew program can
24 be heard quite well throughout all of Europe. I can be
25 heard quite well throughout those areas of the Iron Curtain

1 beginning up about Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia,
2 Hungary, around all of that area, quite well. Because we
3 deliver the program from the United States by these high
4 powered short wave transmitters to Tangier and Munich for
5 relay again to the Courier for rebroadcast. So, in the
6 process of delivering it to the Courier, it had very good
7 coverage over very large areas.

8 MR. COHN: In other words, is this correct, Mr. Thomp-
9 son: This was not merely cutting off, from an objective
10 standpoint, broadcasts to Israel. This was closing down
11 the Hebrew language service, which would reach Israel and
12 also other areas in the world containing people whose
13 spoke the Hebrew language?

14 MR. THOMPSON: Yes, but particularly where the signal
15 would be useful, in Europe.

16 MR. COHN: In Europe, including Israel and the Iron
17 Curtain countries, and so on, and so forth?

18 MR. THOMPSON: Oh, yes, throughout the Middle East.

19 SENATOR MUNDT: Yes. That is important. Now, let me
20 ask you a collateral question, Mr. Puhán. You said, and I
21 agree with you a hundred per cent, that the disclosure for
22 the world to see of the innate anti-Semitism which has been
23 part and parcel of communism, as I understand it, for a
24 good bit of the Communist regime in Russia, but which now
25 was disclosed as such, did give us a good propaganda bomb-

1 shell. What was the attitude, forgetting about the Hebrew
2 language desk for this question, of those designing the
3 program in New York, from the standpoint of emphasizing that
4 point and projecting it not only in the Hebraic language but
5 in all other languages at the time we had the opportunity
6 to do so?

7 MR. PUHAN: Senator, there were two issues at that
8 time that I said we must use to the hilt. The first was a
9 proposal about which I was wary, namely, the India proposal
10 in the UN for bringing about peace in Korea. I was some-
11 what wary of it, and if I may say so, I am somewhat wary
12 of any proposal coming from India. But when it did offer
13 us ammunition to point out that here was the Soviet Union
14 refusing to accept a proposal from a state as neutral as
15 India --

16 SENATOR JACKSON: And as fuzzy.

17 MR. PUHAN: And, I will add, as fuzzy, yes. And at the
18 same time we have the Slansky trial; anti-Semitism. Here
19 were two good issues.

20 I believe, sir, that the Voice of America did well on
21 this, if they carried out my instructions, or my interpreta-
22 tion of this; as far as I know, sir, they did well on that.

23 SENATOR MUNDT: They did?

24 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

25 SENATOR MUNDT: In other words, they emphasized it in

1 everything except the Hebraic language?

2 MR. PUHAN: Now, in Arabic, the anti-Semitic issue was
3 toned down, for obvious reasons, I think. But for the rest,
4 to the best of my recollection, it was played up.

5 MR. COHN: And that was a decision you people made in
6 New York. Is that right?

7 MR. PUHAN: That was a discussion that took place
8 before the staff.

9 SENATOR MUNDT: Did Harris concur in that decision?

10 MR. PUHAN: Senator, Harris was in Washington, and I
11 have no knowledge of whether he concurred or whether he had
12 any opinion on that.

13 MR. COHN: The only definite instruction you got from
14 Harris was this written instruction we have in evidence
15 here, even following your pointing out to them what a damag-
16 ing thing this would be in view of the new issue that had
17 come up, a firm instruction that there be an immediate
18 suspension of all Hebrew language broadcasts out of the
19 Voice of America, which instruction was overruled later on?

20 MR. PUHAN: Yes. On my telephone call, and Mr. Morton's
21 return, he assured me that he would take it up with Dr.
22 Compton immediately. Then there was no suspension order
23 issued after that.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Counsel, what other witnesses do you
25 have besides Mr. Harris?

MR. COHN: We have Mr. Thompson here.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you should call Mr. Harris and tell him we would like to see him.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: Mr. Puhan, where were you born?

MR. PUHAN: Senator, I was born in Germany, in 1913, but I was brought here as a child and raised in Illinois.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: What is your title now?

MR. PUHAN: Program Manager of the Voice of America.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: Have you any other titles, besides that?

MR. PUHAN: That is the only one that I know of, Senator.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: Does Mr. Ayers report to you? He testified up here the other day.

MR. PUHAN: Yes. Well, now, he hasn't reported to me since. But I heard his testimony, or part of it.

Are you referring to: did he report to me after --

SENATOR SYMINGTON: He said that you were his boss. Is that right?

MR. PUHAN: One step removed, sir. Mr. Baldanza is his chief.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: That is what he said.

MR. PUHAN: And Mr. Baldanza reports directly to me, Senator.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: And then there was a Mr. Bauer. Right? Overseas Service Agency?

1 MR. PUHAN: He is the second of six division chiefs
2 under me.

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Mr. Bauer is directly under you?

4 MR. PUHAN: Yes, as is Mr. Baldanza.

5 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I am interested in an organization-
6 al aspect of this problem.

7 MR. PUHAN. Yes.

8 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Mr. Ayers testified that he and
9 Mr. Baldanza were interested in finding out what their
10 budget was, in order that they might know how much money
11 they had to spend, and that Mr. Bauer said he couldn't tell
12 them what the budget was. Is that correct, so far as you
13 knew?

14 MR. PUHAN: Now, Senator, as far as my instructions
15 were, as soon as Mr. Bauer knew what his budget was for all
16 field services -- and it ran to something like less than
17 \$400,000 for the entire fiscal year -- he was to inform
18 each of four division chiefs, the Latin American, the
19 European, the Near East, and the Far East Division Chiefs,
20 how much of that budget would be allocated for transcriptions
21 that were to be sent to the areas for which these men are
22 responsible. Now, Mr. Bauer, who I consider a good
23 Division chief, as I consider Mr. Baldanza a good Division
24 chief -- and I consider also Mr. Ayers a good man -- were
25 supposed to be told.

1 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Were supposed to be told what?

2 MR. PUHAN: What the figure was, what the amount of
3 money was that they had.

4 SENATOR SYMINGTON: For each Division?

5 MR. PUHAN: For each Division.

6 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Who was going to tell them that?

7 MR. PUHAN: Mr. Bauer. Now, Mr. Bauer has the same
8 problems that any executive in the Voice of America has,
9 in not knowing what he has for the entire year, what he has
10 for three months, and whether that is going to be changed
11 on you.

12 The question in my mind is: If Mr. Bauer did not tell
13 him -- and it was my belief he had told Mr. Baldanza when
14 he knew; and the figure was something like \$30,000 for Latin
15 America. My impression was that he had told him that. I
16 consider this argument between Mr. Ayers and Mr. Baldanza,
17 and Mr. Bauer smething of a tempest in a teapot, frankly.

18 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, just to be sure that I under-
19 stand the nature of your position with respect to Mr. Ayers'
20 testimony, Mr. Ayers testified that when he found out what
21 the budget was, somewhere between \$50,000 and \$60,000 had
22 been put into a program called "The Eye of the Eagle," and
23 there was about \$2,000 left for other programs. He also
24 testified that he consistently asked Mr. Bauer, with the
25 approval of his immediate superior, how much money they had

1 to spend, and that information was never given to him until
2 all the money had been used up.

3 He also testified that the person to whom Mr. Bauer
4 reported, and the person to whom he reported, with Mr.
5 Baldanza, was you.

6 I was wondering why it was that you were operating
7 your departments on the basis of not having the people
8 knowing how much/the money was that they had to spend, especial-
9 ly as they had to spend it all the time, and they didn't
10 know what it was.

11 MR. PUHAN: Senator, as I say, and as was brought out
12 in the testimony, I believe, if my memory serves me right,
13 Mr. Ayers stated Mr. Puhon had given a directive to Mr.
14 Bauer and to Mr. Baldanza to cooperate, to work this out,
15 and to let them know what the figures are. I assure you
16 I have a thousand problems. You were head of a large
17 agency, sir. I have many, many problems. And I did not
18 hear of or did not know that there was still some sort of a
19 hassle going on, on this. That is to the best of my recol-
20 lection. They are all good men, those three men. And I
21 believe, incidentally, in the description of the program --
22 now, you know, we put out 375,000 words every day in 46
23 languages.

24 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Let me get this straight. You do
25 not agree with Mr. Ayers with respect to Mr. Bauer at all,

1 do you?

2 MR. PUHAN: I think Mr. Bauer is all right.

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: And so you do not agree with Mr.
4 Ayers on that?

5 MR. PUHAN: Well, if he questions his loyalty, I would
6 have to disagree, from what I know.

7 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Then you believe that it was all
8 right for The Eye of the Eagle, based on all the circum-
9 stances in this very involved setup you are running -- you
10 believe it was all right to have The Eye of the Eagle for
11 \$50,000 to \$60,000 as a sound way to operate his department?

12 MR. PUHAN: I am not sure figure was correct. I think
13 it was \$30,000. But in view of the fact that 21 posts in
14 Latin America had asked for this program, after auditioning
15 it, it seemed to me valid enough reason to permit this
16 program to go on. You know, Latin America believes in
17 soap opera type broadcasting, and frequently, just because it
18 does not say in every second line, "Down with Stalin" --
19 This is the sugar-coated pill. This is not to my mind, if
20 I am any kind of expert in radio at all, the best type of
21 radio program. I consider it corny. But you know what it
22 is. The Eye of the Eagle is the story of the heroic
23 American scientist -- a Dick Tracy kind of show -- who
24 conquers the forces of injustice and evil. And the forces of
25 injustice and evil have Russian names.

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1 Now, there was some argument about changing of words.
2 I heard some of that. For instance, it was said that the
3 word "Cominform" had been used, and Mr. Ayers had insisted
4 on "Communist." I looked at the scripts. They had the
5 word "Cominform" in them. When the changes had been
6 recommended, to the best of my knowledge, those changes
7 were made. Now, the words appear "Cominform," "Communist,"
8 "Kremlin," "Dictator." Those are the words that are used
9 in the script. They are neither the best nor the worst
10 of the series.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me interrupt. If this is a children's
12 program, you would not expect those children to know what
13 "Cominform" was?

14 MR. PUHAN: Senator, I wouldn't call it a children's
15 program. I am no expert on Latin America. I have only been
16 in Brazil, and that for a very short time, and I don't
17 speak Spanish or Portuguese. But I would say it is a
18 program for youth. It is a program for the teen-agers,
19 even the university or college students in some ways. And
20 I think that is an important audience for us to get.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: The thing that hit me at the time Mr.
22 Ayers was testifying, and still does, is this, that you
23 spent all except \$2,000 on that thriller program. Do you
24 think that is sound?

25 MR. PUHAN: Senator, what was not brought out is that

1 there are two hours and twenty-five minutes of broadcasting
2 every day to Latin America that was not concerned with this
3 program at all. The Latin American Division, headed by
4 Mr. Baldanza, carries out his program of carrying news,
5 political commentaries, strong anti-Communist material.
6 This was a small fraction of the package program that is
7 sent down to Latin America.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: We are talking about the prepared shows,
9 and we understand that all of the money except about \$2,000
10 was spent for this thriller show. Now, I am not trying to
11 tell you whether it was right or wrong at this time. I am
12 trying to get your opinion as to whether you think that was
13 a wise allocation.

14 Mr. Ayers felt that a show like The Eye of the Eagle
15 apparently would be all right, if it only took up a minor
16 part of his budget. It took up all except \$2,000.

17 Now, do you think that was a wise allocation?

18 MR. PUHAN: Senator, in view of the fact that there were
19 twenty-one posts who wanted this type of program, I would
20 have to accede to the wishes of the men who are in the field.
21 Now, I have some views, personal views, on the entire package
22 program. As far as I am concerned, if you can broadcast
23 from the United States of America with an effective signal,
24 let's forget about our package program. It is more expen-
25 sive anyway. And if you have good loyal people doing the

1 job, who are security-cleared, let us do the program from
2 here, and we will have no such problems as making The Eye
3 of the Eagle.

4 SENATOR SYMINGTON: The Eye of the Eagle is a youth
5 program. We understand it had something to do with a
6 helicopter and a seeing eye operating through a building,
7 and so on. Regardless of what the South Americans want,
8 do you think that is a good way to spend the taxpayers'
9 money, where you put into this program somewhere between
10 95 and 98 per cent of the money, putting it into The Eye
11 of the Eagle?

12 MR. PUHAN: Senator, if by putting that show on you
13 show the Russians, the Commies, up as evil, and if it means
14 that it has to be done in a syrupy, corny way, and you win
15 friends for the United States, the answer is "yes," Senator.

16 SENATOR SYMINGTON: I just want to say that your
17 testimony is directly contrary to Mr. Ayers' with respect
18 to this program. And I, at least, was impressed with some
19 of his testimony.

20 I would like to ask another question. Both of these
21 men reported to you, and yet, as I understand it, you say
22 that you told them, "You are a couple of good boys. Get
23 along together. Work this out."

24 MR. PUHAN: Not in those words, Senator.

25 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Well, I am interested in finding out

1 how you did that. If we have one person whocomes up here
2 and testifies this was the way the Department was handled,
3 he did not approve of the broadcasts, he was not allowed
4 to say what should be broadcast, he could not even get a
5 budget to operate his department, and he reported to you
6 and the other fellow reported to you, I am interested, as
7 having a little administrative experience, in what your
8 answer is to that position.

9 MR. PUHAN: Senator, my instructions were not in terms
10 of, "Let's be good boys." I told Mr. Bauer at the time,
11 to the best of my recollection, "If you know what your
12 budget figure is and you haven't told Baldanza, tell him at
13 once what your figure for the budget is, and get busy and
14 do it."

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Did he do it?

16 MR. PUHAN: As far as I knew, Senator, he did it.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you say to him, "Mr. Bauer, do you
18 know what your budget figures are?"

19 MR. PUHAN: You understand, when you talk about the
20 budget, the budget is under the control of the Comptroller,
21 and they work through administrative officers.

22 SENATOR POTTER: You know, what disturbed me with Mr.
23 Ayers' testimony: ^AHere you have your Overseas Branch, which
24 is a service unit. Is that not true?

25 MR. PUHAN: That is essentially true.

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1 SENATOR POTTER: And Mr. Ayers' branch was a produc-
2 tion unit?

3 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

4 SENATOR POTTER: Now, why did not Ayers' branch enter
5 into and make the contracts for the program, rather than
6 to allow a service unit to do it, where the personnel, to
7 my understanding, the personnel in that branch, are not
8 expected to and do not have the training to determine what
9 type of program should be run?

10 MR. PUHAN: I believe, sir, that the Latin American
11 Division did enter into it, because the initials on every
12 one of the scripts -- they bear the initials of a member
13 of the Latin American Division, of Stu Ayers and Steve
14 Baldanza. I believe also when the contracts are looked
15 at they may well bear the signature of the Division Chief
16 for Latin America.

17 SENATOR POTTER: According to Mr. Ayers, the scripts
18 were not prepared by his Division. The scripts were con-
19 tracted for by the Overseas Division. They would come to
20 the production group, and Ayers would recommend certain
21 changes in the script. But he was overruled by the Service
22 Unit.

23 MR. PUHAN: Well, all I can say is what I said before,
24 that considering them all good men, all three of them, ex-
25 cellent men --

1 SENATOR POTTER: Well, at the time of their testimony,
2 what disturbed me was the fact that I thought it shows
3 evidence of lack of good administration on the part of some-
4 body, of not keeping their finger on it.

5 Here you have one group that, according to the testimony,
6 was branching out and doing a job which it did not have
7 authority to do, doing a job which should be done by another
8 branch in your own Division.

9 MR. PUHAN: No. The Overseas Services were set up
10 specifically for one purpose, and that was to service posts
11 with transcriptions, service overseas posts with transcrip-
12 tions, which would be played back from local stations. Now,
13 why was this not immediately given to the Divisions that
14 do the actual broadcasting? There are several reasons for
15 that. One was that what was wanted were shows with a lot
16 of production, because they wouldn't be distorted by short
17 wave, you see.

18 A second reason was in the law which the distinguished
19 Senator sitting here fathered, in a section in that law, it
20 was urged upon the Department of State to avail itself of
21 outside contractors to get the materials. Now, inevitably,
22 when you do that, sir, you are going to have to pay more
23 money for that.

24 SENATOR POTTER: Mr. Ayers testified that they could
25 have done it for \$200,000 per script, while it was costing

1 your Overseas service approximately \$1200 per script.

2 MR. PUHAN: Well, now, here Mr. Ayers may be somewhat
3 inaccurate. He may think of it from the point of view of
4 hiring announcers, actors, and buying a script. But you
5 have to add to that your studio time, your studio engineers.
6 You have to add to that what it costs for the ship program,
7 and so on.

8 I would say the difference between what was done on the
9 outside, and the other, is a difference between approximate-
10 ly \$758 per half hour program when done by VOA in the house;
11 and \$1,100 when done by a private vendor outside.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: May I interrupt? I am going to ask the
13 witness and counsel if they will try and speed this up. He
14 have the Acting Head of the Voice standing by waiting, and
15 I do not like to keep the head of the Department warming his
16 heels too long.

17 SENATOR JACKSON: There is just one thing in connection
18 with Mr. Ayers' testimony that concerned me. If I am wrong
19 on this, I want the staff or someone to correct me. Mr.
20 Ayers testified, I believe, that Mr. Bauer, or someone under
21 his direction, changed the script from time to time, and
22 where the term "anti-Communist" had been used, he substituted
23 "Democratic."

24 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Mr. Ayers wrote a memorandum in
25 which he said, "Why not put the money that goes into this

1 pap into bullets?" And they asked him to withdraw that
2 from the file. And he agreed to withdraw it from the file
3 provided they took all the changes that he suggested in the
4 testimony. And they said that they would do that. And he
5 withdrew it from the file. Then later, he saw the script,
6 and none of the changes had been made that they said would
7 be made if he did withdraw it.

8 Do you know anything about that?

9 MR. PUHAN: Only since the testimony, and I believe
10 it is inaccurate, Senator.

11 SENATOR SYMINGTON: You believe it is inaccurate?

12 MR. PUHAN: I believe the changes were made. At least,
13 in the script I saw, I saw "Cominform" struck out.

14 MR. COHN: This was with reference to only one particular
15 script, No. 26, and I don't think they were made. But that
16 is a side issue, anyway.

17 Mr. Puhon, I want to ask you about something else.
18 This is, I think, an extremely important thing.

19 You are familiar with the fact that the State Department
20 had something called the Office of German Affairs. Is that
21 right?

22 MR. PUHAN: That is correct.

23 MR. COHN: And do they have some people stationed over
24 in Germany, State Department representatives?

25 MR. PUHAN: Yes, Hi-Cog.

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1 MR. COHN: Hi-Cog. Did there ever come a time when
2 the powers that be decided that one or more of those persons
3 should be brought over to the United States to work at the
4 Voice of America? "Yes" or "no"?

5 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

6 MR. COHN: I want to make a little time here.

7 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

8 MR. COHN: And let me ask you this, too: Is it a fact
9 that the employees at Hi-Cog are not required to have as
10 extensive an FBI field investigation as those who work at
11 the Voice of America?

12 MR. PUHAN: I believe that that is true. I am not sure
13 of it, but I believe that is true.

14 MR. COHN: Did there come a time when certain of these
15 people with the Office of German Affairs of the State Depart-
16 ment filed applications for transfer to the Voice of America,
17 and, having filed those applications, were given full
18 field FBI investigations before they could come to the
19 Voice of America?

20 MR. PUHAN: I think Mr. Thompson is more familiar with
21 this than I am in this particular.

22 MR. COHN: All right. I will withdraw that.

23 May I ask Mr. Thompson about that, Mr. Chairman?

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Will you answer that, Mr. Thompson?

25 MR. THOMPSON: I believe you have confused two organi-

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1 zations a little. The Office of German Affairs is the
2 Washington end of it, and Hi-Cog is the German end of it.
3 And there were some Americans who were in Germany who were
4 put in process for clearance for jobs at the Voice.

5 MR. COHN: How many people?

6 MR. THOMPSON: Well, I, of course, didn't see all of
7 them. I do know that several were, three or four or five.

8 MR. PUHAN: I can take it from there.

9 MR. COHN: All right. We will say about five. Would
10 that be right?

11 MR. PUHAN: That was the impression.

12 MR. COHN: I will name them for you. Let's see if I am
13 right. A man named Charles Lewis?

14 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

15 MR. COHN: A man named Ed Schechter?

16 MR. PUHAN: Right.

17 MR. COHN: A man named Theodore Kaghan?

18 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

19 MR. COHN: A man named Harold Wright?

20 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

21 MR. COHN: There is one more, whose name I can never
22 think of.

23 Will you agree with me, Mr. Thompson, that we decided
24 there were five?

25 MR. THOMPSON: I believe there were five. I have for-

1 gotten the other name myself now.

2 MR. COHN: All right. Now, out of those five persons,
3 how many of those five State Department employees passed
4 the security test, Mr. Thompson?

5 MR. THOMPSON: Well, to my knowledge, one.

6 MR. COHN: His name is Mr. Wright. Those other four
7 who did not pass: are they still with the State Department?

8 MR. PUHAN: Mr. Lewis, I believe, has resigned. Mr.
9 Schechter is still with Hi-Cog in Germany as the Chief of the
10 Radio Branch in Germany.

11 MR. COHN: Is he one of those who failed this test?

12 THE CHAIRMAN: "Yes" or "no." Try and cut your answers,
13 if you will.

14 MR. PUHAN: I was told he was not suitable for
15 employment and that I should not use him here, whereupon
16 I picked up the phone and said, "This is a very strange thing.
17 A man was turned down, and he is still Chief of the Branch
18 in Germany."

19 SENATOR JACKSON: Turned down for security?

20 MR. PUHAN: It didn't say that.

21 MR. COHN: Do you know?

22 MR. PUHAN: I don't know that. He was not unsuitable.
23 He could not be employed.

24 MR. COHN: What other reason could there possibly be?

25 MR. PUHAN: Morals.

1 MR. COHN: Well, that is security.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, either loyalty or
3 morals. Is that correct?

4 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

7 SENATOR JACKSON: Well, it was not because he was not
5 qualified, qualified in a professional sense of doing the
6 job?

8 MR. PUHAN: You could not call him unqualified, be-
9 cause he was holding a job and had area experience in Germany.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Puhon, the FBI investigation, which
11 was conducted, after which you were notified that this man
12 was not suitable, does not go into the question of qualifica-
13 tions for the particular job. That is a loyalty investi-
14 gation, a security investigation, which also deals with
15 morals. Right?

16 MR. PUHAN: I believe so, yes.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: So when you were phoned and told that
18 this man was not suitable, it did not mean that he was
19 unsuitable from the standpoint of competence in a particular
20 job. It meant that he was unsuitable because the security
21 check showed that he was unsuitable for a loyalty standpoint,
22 a security standpoint, which would include morals. Right?

23 MR. PUHAN: I would assume that that is correct.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: And this man was subsequently promoted,
25 so that he is now the Chief of what?

1 MR. PUHAN: He is the Chief of the Branch of the
2 Information Services Division of Hi-Cog in Germany.

3 MR. COHN: When did this happen?

4 MR. PUHAN: It happened in about November, when I was
5 told, in November of last year.

6 MR. THOMPSON: The last week in November, approximately.

7 SENATOR JACKSON: November of 1952?

8 MR. PUHAN: Yes.

9 MR. COHN: Now, how about these other people? Kaghan?
10 Is Kaghan still over in Germany?

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask one question. Is there any
12 objection to your telling us who had the task of evaluating
13 material on Schechter, and who called you?

14 MR. COHN: Let me ask this of Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson,
15 is it not a fact that you actually saw the turndown in the
16 case of some of these people?

17 MR. THOMPSON: In the case of at least Charles Lewis,
18 I remember specifically.

19 MR. COHN: You saw it?

20 MR. THOMPSON: I saw it myself.

21 MR. COHN: In black and white?

22 MR. THOMPSON: Yes. I believe the first time it came
23 to my attention, was in the late spring or early summer of
24 '49.

25 MR. COHN: Now, did you not see the turndowns on some

1 of the others? Or don't you recall whether you did or not?

2 MR. THOMPSON: Well, there were a number of people in
3 Germany. There were a number of people in New York. The
4 people in Germany had immediate area experience. They had
5 been overseas a long time. It was considered that there
6 ought to be some exchanging going on.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: No, you did not hear the question. The
8 question was: Did you see the turn downs on some of the
9 others?

10 MR. THOMPSON: Well, let's put it this way. So I person-
11 ally received the application papers, the Forms 57's, and they
12 call them 668's, and some others, and fingerprints. I put
13 them in process. If they come out cleared, there will be
14 some changes. Well, they never came out cleared.

15 Now, as far as Lewis is concerned, I saw the turndown.
16 I do not remember seeing the other turndowns. But inasmuch
17 as I was in Germany in October of '51, I was asked by these
18 people, "Am I coming to New York?"

19 I said, "I do not know. Your clearance has not come
20 through."

21 Well, we don't have access to the security file, so I
22 didn't know what the status was.

23 MR. COHN: Did you see Schechter's turn down, Mr. Puhon?

24 MR. PUHAN: I received from the personnel officer, Ed
25 Macy, a form -- or perhaps from the administrative officer, --

1 which stated that Mr. Schechter was not to be employed.

2 And then it went on, and something was crossed out. But he
3 was not to be employed by the Voice of America.

4 MR. COHN: Did they not go so far as to say he was not
5 to be used even on a temporary purchase order basis by the
6 Voice of America?

7 MR. PUHAN: I thought about that some more. I don't
8 believe that my recollection was correct on that. I think he
9 could be used on purchase order, but that he was to be
10 something like that, terminated perhaps after that. My shock
11 came when I learned he had been named head of the Radio
12 Branch in Germany. I picked up the phone and called them.

13 MR. COHN: Whom did you call?

14 MR. PUHAN: I believe a Mr. Cordell in Al Busch's shop
15 in Compton's shop in Washington.

16 MR. COHN: Whom did you call up?

17 MR. PUHAN: I called Macy first in New York. Then Cordell
18 called me about another man that he wanted to send, a second
19 man. I said, "Who is the first man in Germany?" He said,
20 "Schechter."

21 I said, "How can that be? The man has been turned down."

22 THE CHAIRMAN: The question was: Whom did you call in
23 Washington?

24 MR. PUHAN: I don't remember, Senator, now.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you discuss any of these cases with

1 Mr. Harris?

2 MR. PUHAN: No, sir. I never have.

3 MR. COHN: Mr. Thompson, let me see if I can develop
4 this rapidly here. You know about this same situation Mr.
5 Puhon has described, do you not, the fact that these names
6 had been submitted and they didn't pass security?

7 MR. THOMPSON: Yes.

8 MR. COHN: After that happened, they still kept their
9 job with the State Department in Germany?

10 MR. THOMPSON: In Germany.

11 MR. COHN: Did you ever have any trouble with them in
12 their capacities with the State Department in Germany?

13 MR THOMPSON: Well, their position was such in
14 Germany that in order for us in New York to accomplish things
15 in Germany, we necessarily had to work through them.

16 MR. COHN: Now, you had to work through them. Was
17 what you were trying to accomplish in Germany the strengthen-
18 ing of Voice facilities and the penetratin of the Soviet zone,
19 and so on and so forth?

20 MR. THOMPSON: Among other things, the completion of
21 the construction and operation, or placing into operation, of
22 a new transmitter there at Munich.

23 MR. COHN: Would that have gotten into the Soviet Union?

24 MR. THOMPSON: Oh, yes. That was the purpose of it.

25 MR. COHN: All right. Did you encounter any difficulty

1 from these people over in Germany?

2 MR. THOMPSON: Well, it seemed to me that every step we
3 took we met decided opposition.

4 One, we needed a frequency to operate on. The fre-
5 quencies were under the control of the Radio Branch. In
6 the first instance, they were under the control of the Radio
7 Branch.

8 Next, we needed to negotiate land leases or land
9 purchases, which we also had to carry through this Radio
10 Branch in the first instance. All of our instructions, you
11 see, from New York, come to Washington, and then they go
12 through the German Affairs Division, and then they go to the
13 High Commissioner's Office, Radio Branch, and then they go to
14 Munich.

15 MR. COHN: You say the trouble you had was with these
16 people in Munich. Is that right?

17 MR. THOMPSON: These people in the Radio Branch
18 generally, in the High Commissioner's Office in Germany.

19 MR. COHN: In Germany; is that right?

20 MR. THOMPSON: In Germany, specifically.

21 MR. COHN: And you say your efforts were being thwarted.
22 Your effort to get through to the Soviet zone, and so on and
23 so forth?

24 MR. THOMPSON: To complete this big transmitter that we
25 had been authorized to construct and operate.

1 MR. COHN: Now, did this situation become so serious
2 that you made a trip down to see Reed Harris about it?

3 MR. THOMPSON: The specific occasion for the trip I
4 don't remember. But I was in Mr. Harris's office.

5 MR. COHN: Did you bring up the question of the fact
6 that these people were security turn downs and that they
7 were making things very tough for you over in Germany by
8 virtue of their State Department positions?

9 MR. THOMPSON: I made the statement that I did not
10 like this opposition from a group of pseudo-Americans

11 Well, I don't like to say it. I was a little mad at the time,
12 because we had had so many delays. And every step that we
13 took, took an inordinate amount of effort. And everything
14 that we did just seemed to take so long. And I was in
15 Washington, and I talked to Mr. Harris about some other things,
16 and I said something like this: "It looks to me like we have
17 too much trouble accomplishing things through the Radio
18 Branch in Germany, and I don't see why we should, unless it
19 is that bunch of pseudo-Americans who couldn't pass security."

20 MR. COHN: What did Mr. Harris say to you?

21 MR. THOMPSON: He said, I didn't understand the organi-
22 zation and the operation. I believe I can read and under-
23 stand it quite well.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: What is this Charles Lewis doing now?
25 Do you know?

1 MR. THOMPSON: He resigned, I understand, because I
2 saw him in New York.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: The other two men?

4 SENATOR POTTER: When did he resign? Do you know?

5 MR. THOMPSON: It must have been in the last week of
6 November, because it was in, I believe, just early December
7 that I saw him in New York. He was living some place in
8 Connecticut, I believe.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Who are the other two men?

10 MR. PUHAN: Kaghan, K-a-g-h-a-n, Theodore.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: And is he over in Hi-Cog also?

12 MR. PUHAN: To the best of my knowledge, he is still
13 over there.

14 MR. THOMPSON: He is Chief of the Information Services
15 Division, over the Radio Branch.

16 SENATOR POTTER: When did he get his promotion?

17 MR. PUHAN: That is not part of the Voice.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that they could not qualify
19 for the Voice, but they are doing the work over there now,
20 where in effect they are in a position to have either
21 semi-supervision over the Voice, or they can sabotage your
22 efforts if they want to.

23 Now, let me ask you: He got his promotion after he
24 failed to pass security to qualify for the Voice?

25 MR. THOMPSON: I don't know about this promotion business.

1 Now, wait. Schechter is the man who got promoted. I don't
2 remember exactly what Kaghan was, except that for a long
3 time he has been Chief of the Information Services.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: I see. So that Kaghan may not have
5 got a promotion, but Schechter did. How about the third
6 man, or the fourth one? We had Lewis, Schechter, Kaghan.

7 MR. COHN: Wright was the man who did pass?

8 MR. PUHAN: He is with the Voice.

9 MR. THOMPSON: He is all right.

10 MR. COHN: There was another name. Do you recall that
11 name, Mr. Thompson?

12 MR. THOMPSON: It has to be Shepherd Stone. Because
13 he is the boss of all of them.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you know if he is related to William
15 T. Stone?

16 MR. PUHAN: I don't believe so. That is not his right
17 name, Shepherd Stone. I think he has a Lithuanian name of
18 some sort. He is a former New York Times correspondent.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: And he failed to pass, and his job now
20 is what?

21 MR. PUHAN: He is out. Senator, I am speaking only of
22 what I hear. He is out of the program and I think is with
23 a Foundation. That is what I have heard, a foundation in
24 New York, or something like that.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: You were going to say something, Mr.

1 Thompson. Was it your opinion that Stone was still with
2 Hi-Cog?

3 MR. THOMPSON: He was there when I was there a little
4 over a year ago, and I thought I remembered seeing corres-
5 pondence with his name on it, frankly, within the past six
6 months. I may be wrong.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

8 Anything further?

9 SENATOR SYMINGTON: One more question I would like to
10 ask. Mr. Chairman, the witness, Mr. Puhan, has pretty well
11 discredited a great deal of the testimony of Mr. Ayers, and
12 I have received, I think, three or four wires, including one
13 from Mr. Bauer himself, requesting to be heard. If I may
14 respectfully request, it might be a good idea for Mr. Puhan
15 to write a letter to the committee giving exactly what his
16 position is with respect to these two subordinates, how they
17 are getting along, and whether he thinks they should continue,
18 what the picture is, so that Mr. Bauer's testimony could be
19 based not only on Mr. Ayers' testimony but on what Mr.
20 Puhan thinks.

21 MR. PUHAN: May I just say one word, Senator? I do not
22 like to discredit any of my good people. I believe they are
23 good people. I believe there are some inaccuracies, and that
24 it is a matter that can be straightened out.

25 SENATOR JACKSON: Is there any personal feeling between

1 Mr. Bauer and Mr. Ayers?

2 MR. PUHAN: Yes, there is.

3 SENATOR JACKSON: I mean personal feuding or personal
4 differences?

5 MR. PUHAN: Well, there appears to be, yes.

6 MR. THOMPSON: Would you let me make a comment off the
7 record?

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

9 (Discussion off the record.)

10 MR. COHN: I want to ask you this, Mr. Thompson. Do you
11 recall in the spring of 1951, having a discussion with Reed
12 Harris prior to an appearance before a congressional appro-
13 priation committee?

14 MR. THOMPSON: Before the Budget process, yes; before
15 the Bureau of the Budget and the Appropriations Committee.

16 MR. COHN: Did Mr. Harris submit a schedule which he was
17 going to give to a congressional committee concerning the
18 allocation of funds which he had made to the Voice of America
19 and to other phases of the Information program?

20 MR. THOMPSON: It was part of the entire budget pre-
21 sentation, yes.

22 MR. COHN: Did you look at it, and did you take the
23 position that Mr. Harris was misrepresenting the amount of
24 money that he had in fact allocated to the Voice of America?

25 MR. THOMPSON: Yes.

1 MR. COHN: The background of that was, as I understand,
2 that Congress had indicated a strong intention that a very
3 large portion of the funds should go to the Voice of America,
4 and that Mr. Harris wanted to put his best foot forward in
5 so far as that was concerned, but you strongly objected
6 to any inaccurate figures being placed in this schedule;
7 is that right?

8 MR. THOMPSON: I objected to my boss and myself going
9 before any Appropriations Committee with a budget document
10 that did not represent the facts as they were.

11 MR. COHN: Did you win out in your insistence that the
12 true facts be prepared on the schedule rather than the figure
13 Mr. Harris wanted to put in?

14 MR. THOMPSON: Yes, I worked all Friday night, Saturday,
15 and Sunday on it.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, is it your testimony
17 that Harris was going to knowingly give the Appropriations
18 Committee the wrong information?

19 MR. THOMPSON: Your budget has three columns in it;
20 last year, this year, and next year. The "this year"
21 column, according to our instructions from the Bureau of the
22 Budget should reflect the amount of money that has been
23 allocated to the given activity for this year. That column
24 did not reflect the facts, because I had the allotments.
25 It did not reflect the facts.

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1 SENATOR MUNDT: Did Harris know that it did not reflect
2 the facts, or was it an honest mistake on his part?

3 MR. THOMPSON: He knew it when I told him, sir.

4 SENATOR MUNDT: He knew it when you told him. Then
5 did he acquiesce in your point of view, or argue to put it
6 that way anyhow?

7 MR. THOMPSON: In all fairness, let us say this. Pre-
8 paring a document, a budget document, takes some time. There
9 may have been some transfers of funds, of allocations in the
10 file. It was quite short.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: The question, Mr. Thompson, was: After
12 you called this to Harris's attention, did he say, "All right.
13 Correct it"?

14 MR. THOMPSON: He said it didn't make any difference.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, he wanted to submit the
16 figures as they were, rather than to correct them?

17 MR. THOMPSON: He said it didn't make any difference.
18 I said it did make a lot of difference.

19 SENATOR SYMINGTON: This is not a "platters versus live
20 broadcasting" argument, is it?

21 MR. THOMPSON: Not at all.

22 MR. COHN: One last question: When you were with the
23 Voice a couple of years ago, and in fact I think it goes
24 back to '48 or '49, did you look into this purchase order
25 system, by which people wrote scripts for purchase orders,

1 and did you come across a situation where somebody had
2 been turned down for security reasons as an employee of the
3 Voice and had nevertheless come back in through the other
4 door and had been writing scripts on a purchase order basis?

5 MR. THOMPSON: Well, without being impertinent, let's put
6 it this way. I came to the Voice on, I believe, November
7 19, 1948, by invitation. In about February of '49, which
8 was a couple of months later, I seemed to have difficulty
9 getting exactly where we stood, financially. One of the big
10 items seemed to be purchase order funds for scripts and
11 announcers.

12 So I began to look into it. And since my family had not
13 been moved to New York, I was around the office at night, and
14 I was living quite close by --

15 MR. COHN: The upshot is that you discovered the situa-
16 tion?

17 MR. THOMPSON: It looked like too many people were around
18 that I couldn't identify. I asked, "Who are you?" "Well, I
19 am on purchase order."

20 "Who do you work for?" "I work for So and So."

21 "Who is he?" "He is on purchase order."

22 So I began to look into the thing, and we began to put
23 out some strengthening instructions to tighten down.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Thompson, this is all extremely
25 interesting, and we want to hear it, but counsel is asking

1 you some questions, and I wish you would restrict it.

2 MR. COHN: We are awfully pressed for time. There are
3 just certain points I want to get before the committee.

4 Do you know of any indication where a man was turned
5 down as a full time employee for security reasons and came
6 back and was writing scripts?

7 MR. THOMPSON: I couldn't name the man. I would say
8 that there are some, yes.

9 MR. COHN: All right. Thereafter, as a result of that,
10 was there a revision of this purchase order system under
11 your supervision?

12 MR. THOMPSON: Yes.

13 MR. COHN: There was a man named Fisher Northrup back
14 in 1949, or something, that was placed in charge of some of
15 these purchase order people?

16 MR. THOMPSON: Well, in August of 1951, I didn't like
17 the purchase order business. So I rewrote the procedures.

18 MR. COHN: And a man by the name of Fisher Northrup was
19 put in there?

20 MR. THOMPSON: Just a minute. To tie it down completely,
21 so that there could be no loopholes: Now, in order to put a
22 procedure in effect, you must have somebody to police it.

23 MR. COHN: Fisher Northrup was put in there. Is that
24 right?

25 MR. THOMPSON: Yes.

1 MR. COHN: And did it turn out a couple of months ago that
2 this Fisher Northrup was a homosexual, and was he discharged?

3 MR. THOMPSON: He was discharged.

4 MR. COHN: And he had had the say over the hiring of
5 these people?

6 MR. THOMPSON: His responsibility was to control the
7 purchase order use of personnel.

8 SENATOR MUNDT: Who appointed Fisher Northrup to that
9 job?

10 MR. THOMPSON: Right at this moment, I don't know.

11 SENATOR MUNDT: Was it Charles Thayer?

12 MR. THOMPSON: No, sir. He was gone.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Can you find out? You must have some
14 record to show who hired him.

15 MR. THOMPSON: You see, he had been there for quite a
16 long while.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: That is not the question. The question
18 is: Can you find out who hired him, whether he was there
19 for a month, or a year, or what? Do you have some record
20 of that?

21 MR. THOMPSON: I am sure the personnel office has. I
22 don't. The personnel office has, I am sure.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Can you give us some idea of the number
24 of individuals who were turned down for security reasons,
25 and subsequently employed on what you call a purchase order

1 basis? Roughly, the number, if you have any idea?

2 MR. THOMPSON: No, not the number.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: I do not want to pin you down on some-
4 thing you do not know, but could you come close enough to
5 say it was four or less than ten people, or more or less
6 than five?

7 MR. THOMPSON: I would say it was more than five, and
8 probably more than ten.

9 SENATOR MUNDT: Would you be able, by going back to your
10 records, to mention any cases specifically by name? You said
11 a minute ago you could not name anyone.

12 MR. THOMPSON: I cannot do that. But the personnel
13 office and the fiscal office, together, can. Their records
14 are for that purpose. I do not have records like that.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Any questions?

16 Senator McClellan?

17 SENATOR McCLELLAN: No.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Are you through, Counsel?

19 You gentlemen may step down, and thank you very much.

20 MR. THOMPSON: Let me ask you one question. Can we go
21 back to New York?

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

23 MR. PUHAN: Thank you, gentlemen.
24
25

1 THE CHAIRMAN: Will you stand up, Mr. Harris?

2 In this matter now in hearing before the committee,
3 do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth,
4 and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

5 MR. HARRIS: I do, Mr. Chairman.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: This is Mr. Reed Harris, the Acting
7 Director of the Voice; is that right?

8 TESTIMONY OF REED HARRIS, DEPUTY
9 ADMINISTRATOR, UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL
10 INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION.

11 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, may I correct that? I am
12 informed that Mr. Compton is still the Acting Director until
13 such time as a new man is appointed.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: I see. Is Mr. Compton still on the job
15 in his office?

16 MR. HARRIS: On normal work days, yes. He is not there
17 today.

18 MR. COHN: Who is in charge today?

19 MR. HARRIS: There is no question of a person being
20 in charge. He is in town, and he is in charge if the
21 committee wishes to talk with the person in charge of the
22 International Information Administration.

23 MR. COHN: Oh, I see. Suppose a problem arises today.
24 Who makes the decision on it if Dr. Compton is not available?

25 MR. HARRIS: If he is not available, I make the decision.

MR. COHN: You are the next man to Dr. Compton?

1 MR. HARRIS: That is right.

2 MR. COHN: And we made some requests to Dr. Compton,
3 and you have replied to them.

4 MR. HARRIS: I have replied to some on his behalf,
5 yes.

6 MR. COHN: You are the number two man in the entire
7 Information setup; is that right?

8 MR. HARRIS: At the present time, yes, sir.

9 MR. COHN: How long have you held that post?

10 MR. HARRIS: Since the International Information Ad-
11 ministration was created, in January 1952.

12 MR. COHN: And who appointed you to that post?

13 MR. HARRIS: I was appointed to that post -- appointments
14 are made by the head of Personnel on behalf of the head of
15 the Agency, who would be Dr. Compton.

16 MR. COHN: Did you get the job by Dr. Compton's per-
17 sonal choice?

18 MR. HARRIS: Dr. Compton personally chose me. All the
19 top people at the time he came in went to him and said
20 that if he wished to have them resign or transferred or any-
21 thing of that sort, they were ready to do so. I specifically
22 did that with him. Then he chose me.

23 MR. COHN: You were there then?

24 MR. HARRIS: I was in the organization as Deputy General
25 Manager at that time.

1 MR. COHN: How did you get your position as Deputy
2 General Manager?

3 MR. HARRIS: My position as Deputy General Manager
4 came about as a request of Mr. W. K. Scott, now the Deputy
5 Assistant Secretary for Administration.

6 MR. COHN: Now, let me ask you this. After Dr. Compton
7 appointed you Deputy Administrator, did you have some latitude
8 in choosing the rest of the personnel, top personnel?

9 MR. HARRIS: No, sir, I had nothing to do with the
10 choice of the top personnel.

11 MR. COHN: Do you know a man named Bradley Connors?

12 MR. HARRIS: I certainly do, sir.

13 MR. COHN: Did you have anything to do with his obtain-
14 ing his present position?

15 MR. HARRIS: I believe I was asked whether he was a
16 person who would be suitable for the position, and I said
17 "yes."

18 MR. COHN: When you said he would be suitable for the
19 position as the top policy man for our entire Information
20 program in a time of the world when we are fighting commu-
21 nism, did you know he was entirely unfamiliar with communism,
22 had never read any work of Marx, Lenin, or Stalin, didn't know
23 about the Communist Party of the United States, didn't know
24 what the Smith Act was, didn't know about Earl Browder, or his
25 ousting as head of the American Communist Party, didn't know

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1 anything about Communist strategy or tactics?

2 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, that question, whichever
3 way I answer it, would appear to put words in my mouth. I
4 had no knowledge of any such facts, if facts they be, re-
5 garding Mr. Connors.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: Before you said
7 Mr. Connors would be acceptable for this job as Policy
8 Director for the International Information program, did you
9 sit down and talk to him about his attitude toward the
10 Communist Party or his knowledge of the Communist movement?

11 MR. HARRIS: I did not, sir. I was not selecting the
12 man. I was one of the people consulted on whether or not he
13 was, in my opinion, qualified for the position.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: And you said, in your opinion he was
15 qualified?

16 MR. HARRIS: I did, sir.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: On what did you base that?

18 MR. HARRIS: I based it on an outstanding record of
19 performance by Mr. Connors as the Public Affairs head of
20 the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs of the Department.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: And how well had you known Mr. Connors?

22 MR. HARRIS: My contacts had been quite frequent. We
23 had at least weekly meetings, as we did with all public
24 affairs officers of the Bureaus. We knew their relative
25 knowledge of propaganda techniques and the work of the Inter-

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1 national and Educational Exchange program, and Mr. Connors
2 displayed outstanding knowledge, forcefulness, ability, and
3 it appeared to me that he had great understanding of the
4 way the Communists work in fighting the international pro-
5 paganda battle.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: And Mr. Connors would still be your
7 selection for that job?

8 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, on the basis of my own
9 observation of Mr. Connors' work, yes.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: You are not at all dissatisfied with
11 the way he has operated?

12 MR. HARRIS: No, Mr. Chairman, I think he has done an
13 outstanding job.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, how long have you known Mr. Connors?

15 MR. HARRIS: My first contact with Mr. Connors, which
16 was very slight, was when I was chief of the Division of
17 Domestic Publications of the Department.

18 SENATOR MUNDT: What year was that?

19 MR. HARRIS: I am trying to recollect, sir, exactly where
20 that fits, in time. I believe that was 1949, the particular
21 time when I first met him. He handled problems that had to
22 do with any publications which had the interest of the
23 Far Eastern Bureau.

24 SENATOR MUNDT: Would the preparation of a document such
25 as the White Paper on China be something that Mr. Connors did?

1 What kind of work did he do?

2 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I have no awareness of what
3 part, if any, he played in work on the White Paper. Because
4 I was the Domestic Publications chief, I had to have the
5 technical editing and printing of that document done, and I
6 remember that it was under the editorship of Ambassador
7 Jessup and a special task force, and I do not remember see-
8 ing Mr. Connors in any way during that period of time. I
9 don't know that he had anything to do with it, although he
10 may have.

11 SENATOR MUNDT: You say you were the editor in chief of
12 the White paper?

13 MR. HARRIS: No, sir, I did not say that. I said
14 Ambassador Jessup was the chief. I said as chief of
15 Domestic Publications, which is a service group, we had the
16 people who put the commas in and who made sure that the
17 type markings were correct. We did not have anything to
18 do with content. We could not choose what was in or out.
19 We arranged the printing, through the Government Printing
20 Office.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Counsel, I did not intend to break
22 in. I think it might be better if you developed the entire
23 picture, and I know the Senators have a lot of questions
24 to ask. I will try and refrain from interrupting until you
25 finish.

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1 MR. COHN: Mr. Harris, let me come to the present for
2 a moment. Did you give an order to the effect that the
3 entire Hebrew Language Service at the Voice should be
4 terminated as of your written order dated December 5, 1952?

5 MR. HARRIS: I could not, without referring to the
6 document, swear to the date, but I do have perfect knowledge
7 of the fact that I did so order. I did so order on the
8 basis of the action of what we call our Program Allocations
9 Board, which decides where savings shall be made in the
10 operation. And it was a decision of that Board.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Counsel, while all the Senators are
12 here, I know a lot of them have questions to ask on certain
13 points. I wonder if, instead of going into his activity on
14 the Voice, you would not go into the background first, the
15 various front organizations, the book written. The Senators
16 are all here now.

17 MR. COHN: Let me ask you this. Are you now or have you
18 ever been a member of the Communist Party?

19 MR. HARRIS: I don't have any hesitation to say no, I
20 am not; that I never have been; that I have never wanted to
21 be; that I have fought communism in this Government from the
22 day that I first got into it.

23 MR. COHN: How about prior to the time you got into the
24 Government?

25 MR. HARRIS: I was never in any way connected with the

1 Communist Party.

2 MR. COHN: Did you fight communism prior to the time you
3 came into the Government?

4 MR. HARRIS: I did fight communism prior to that time.

5 MR. COHN: Were you ever a member of an organization
6 denominated by the Attorney General as subversive to the
7 United States?

8 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I am in actual doubt of
9 that, and I can say that with great honesty. During the time
10 that I was in the American Guide Series project of the WPA,
11 a gentleman came around to our office and collected a number
12 of names and sent them in to the League of American Writers.
13 At that time, that organization was not identified by the
14 Attorney General or anybody else as a Communist organization.
15 However, the man thought he was doing us a favor, a number
16 of us, by sending our names in to that organization. And I
17 believe that for approximately ten days, I was a member of
18 the League of American Writers. When I did have an impres-
19 sion, Mr. Chairman --

20 MR. COHN: Who was that man? Would you tell us that?

21 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Jerre Mangione.

22 MR. COHN: Did you know at that time that Mr. Mangione
23 was a member of the Communist Party?

24 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I do not know that that man
25 is a member. I didn't know it then and I don't know it now.

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1 MR. COHN: Don't you know it now? Don't you know he
2 was fired from the Immigration and Naturalization Service
3 after having been found to be a member of the John Reed
4 Club of the Communist Party? Don't you know that?

5 MR. HARRIS: I have never seen Mr. Mangione since the
6 time that I left the Federal Writers Project in protest
7 against the fact that the director of that project was
8 allowing Communist-dominated unions to control the New York,
9 Chicago, and St. Louis units of that.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think the witness has answered
11 the question.

12 MR. HARRIS: Well, I understood the question, Mr.
13 Chairman. I did not intend to equivocate.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: The question was: Do you know that this
15 man, after having been found to be a Communist, was dis-
16 charged from the Immigration and Naturalization Service?

17 MR. HARRIS: I did not know it until I came into this
18 room. I now have the word of the counsel that he was.

19 MR. COHN: Did you not ever hear that?

20 MR. HARRIS: No, I did not.

21 MR. COHN: You were not aware of the fact that he was
22 Special Counsel to the Immigration and Naturalization Com-
23 mittee and was discharged, with a lot of attendant publicity?

24 MR. HARRIS: No, sir.

25 MR. COHN: You did not know Mangione was a Communist when

1 you knew him?

2 MR. HARRIS: No, sir, I did not.

3 MR. COHN: Do you know a man named Dashiell Hammett?

4 SENATOR MUNDT: You say you were a member for ten days,
5 and that you then took steps to disassociate yourself, and
6 I want to ask this before we get away from the organization.

7 What steps did you take?

8 MR. HARRIS: I sent in an immediate letter of resigna-
9 tion, because people in the office said my name had appeared
10 in a bulletin of the League of American Writers as if I were
11 a member. It appeared between the names of Mr. Ernest
12 Hemingway and Mr. Dashiell Hammett, neither of which gentle-
13 men I have ever set eyes upon. If I was, in fact, a member
14 of that group at that particular day, I certainly wasn't
15 ten days later, because I sent an immediate letter of resig-
16 nation.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me interrupt there. In other words,
18 when you sent your letter of resignation in, you knew then
19 it was a Communist-dominated group, did you?

20 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I didn't know it was Communist-
21 dominated, but believe me I was suspicious, because some of
22 the names on that list had appeared in connection with ob-
23 viously Communist activities, and I wanted no part of it.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you know whether they continued to
25 use your name on their letterheads?

1 MR. HARRIS: They would have absolutely no right to
2 use my name for one minute. If they did, I would --

3 THE CHAIRMAN: I say: Do you know whether or not they
4 did? I do not know, myself. I am asking you whether or not
5 you know.

6 MR. HARRIS: I don't know, either, sir. I know there
7 was no reference to it in any bulletin I ever saw. I asked
8 a man who had a file of them in a library whether or not
9 there was any mention of my name, and there was no sign of
10 it for some months after the time I sent in my resignation.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

12 MR. COHN: Now, at this very period, did you have any
13 connection with the magazine known as "Direction"?

14 MR. HARRIS: I had no connection with a magazine named
15 "Direction."

16 MR. COHN: You were on the Editorial Board, weren't you?

17 MR. HARRIS: No. Mr. Chairman, I was not on the
18 Editorial Board of that magazine. Let me point out exactly
19 what -- I know what you are referring to. Because a special
20 issue of that particular magazine was published at the request
21 of the Director of the Federal Writers Project, the American
22 Guide project, to put out miscellaneous manuscripts which had
23 been produced by people on the Federal Writers Project. Now,
24 as a courtesy to the people in the top staff of that group,
25 he listed several of us as members of an editorial board for

1 that issue. I actually had no editorial responsibility in
2 connection with that magazine. I have never been on its
3 staff, and I think I could prove it to the satisfaction of
4 this committee, given an opportunity.

5 MR. COHN: Were you on the editorial board for that
6 particular issue?

7 MR. HARRIS: I was so listed, but I did not serve.

8 MR. COHN: Were you listed with your knowledge?

9 MR. HARRIS: Not my advance knowledge. I was told about
10 it at the time that the issue was coming off the press. It
11 was considered by Mr. Henry Alsberg, the director, as a
12 great honor to be on that thing.

13 MR. COHN: You say it was not with your prior knowledge.
14 When you found out about it, did you do what you did in the
15 case of the League of American Writers? Did you file a
16 protest?

17 MR. HARRIS: This was a single issue.

18 MR. COHN: No, my question was: When you found out
19 about it, did you do what you did in the case of the League
20 of American Writers, and did you then file a protest?

21 MR. HARRIS: I made a protest to Mr. Alsberg, who was
22 responsible. He was given the whole job of running that
23 issue.

24 MR. COHN: Was your protest in writing?

25 MR. HARRIS: I do not remember that, sir. I could look

1 it up.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: When did you make the protest?

3 MR. HARRIS: I made the protest within one day of the
4 time I got knowledge that I had been so listed.

5 MR. COHN:: Why?

6 MR. HARRIS: Similarly, I didn't like the tone of the
7 material in that issue. That is all. It appeared to me to
8 have in it some material that was of doubtful origin.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you consider that a Communist-con-
10 trolled publication?

11 MR. HARRIS: I have no way to say that that was the
12 case, sir.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Well, do you now think that that was
14 Communist-controlled?

15 MR. HARRIS: I think it is very probable that there
16 were some Communist sympathizers who contributed, at least,
17 to that magazine.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Well, let me ask you this, if you can
19 answer it: Knowing what you do about the magazine now, do
20 you now think it was Communist-dominated at the time they
21 used your name on the editorial board?

22 MR. HARRIS: I think it was certainly dominated by
23 people who had a leaning toward Communist causes. That is
24 all I could possibly be sure of.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, you could not say that

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1 it was Communist-dominated, but you would say it was
2 dominated by people who had a leaning toward Communist causes?

3 MR. HARRIS: I think that is probably true, Mr. Chair-
4 man.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

6 MR. COHN: By the way, was Mr. Henry Alsberg a Commu-
7 nist?

8 MR. HARRIS: I doubt it very much, Mr. Chairman. He
9 announced himself on one occasion just before I resigned
10 from the project as to what they call a "philosophical
11 anarchist".

12 MR. COHN: I see. You don't know whether or not he was
13 a Communist?

14 MR. HARRIS: Of course, I don't know. I have no way of
15 knowing. I have no way of believing that he was.

16 MR. COHN: Do you know that he resigned from the Govern-
17 ment after loyalty charges had been preferred against him
18 on the ground that he was a Communist?

19 MR. HARRIS: I really didn't know that. I know he
20 resigned with a certain amount of fanfare. That was some
21 time after I was out of the Government, and I was not inti-
22 mately getting knowledge of what went on.

23 MR. COHN: How close a friend of his were you?

24 MR. HARRIS: I was not a close friend in a personal
25 sense. We had practically no social contact, Mr. Chairman.

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1 We did work in the same office for some period of time.

2 MR. COHN: Until when?

3 MR. HARRIS: Until actually the spring of 1938.

4 MR. COHN: Did you see him after 1938?

5 MR. HARRIS: I saw him once on the street in New York.
6 It might have been 1940 or '41.

7 MR. COHN: And that was the only time between '38 and
8 '42, say, as far as you recollect?

9 MR. HARRIS: I think so, unless it were in the month
10 just after I resigned. It may have been that I saw him
11 once or twice.

12 MR. COHN: How can you explain the fact, then, that on
13 October 6, 1942, in his application for employment with the
14 OWI, he listed you as one of his three personal references?

15 MR. HARRIS: I know no reason why he would do it,
16 except that he knew that I worked with him, that I was a
17 Federal employee, and I suppose he thought that I might be
18 able to certify to what his work was in the WPA.

19 MR. COHN: Even though you had only seen him once in the
20 last four years?

21 MR. HARRIS: That is right.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Did the OWI contact you after you were
23 listed as a reference?

24 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I don't remember that he was
25 considered as an OWI employee. I don't remember that he

1 applied. I only have the counsel's word on that. I mean,
2 I just don't know anything about it.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: The question was: Do you know whether
4 OWI contacted you in regard to the hiring of this man?

5 MR. HARRIS: I am always giving these answers to the
6 best of my recollection and belief, Mr. Chairman. I do not
7 remember saying anything about Henry Alsberg to anybody in
8 OWI in an official sense.

9 Now, if he did apply, and if indeed they came to me
10 and asked me questions, I don't remember it at this time.
11 I have answered the questions on thousands of people, thou-
12 sands of them.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, did you think that he was a Communist
14 at the time you and he were working together?

15 MR. HARRIS: No, sir, I thought he was extremely
16 lenient in dealing with any sort of obstructionist left-
17 wing, or any other kind of group. His philosophy apparently
18 was: you live and let live, no matter what kind of vermin
19 you are dealing with. He allowed the New York units parti-
20 cularly of this project to have great autonomy, and they
21 became, as a result, dominated, in my opinion, by Communist-
22 controlled unions.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you know Don Henderson?

24 MR. HARRIS: Yes, I certainly did. He was an instructor
25 at Columbia University when I was there. I took a course

1 under him.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you know he was a Communist?

3 MR. HARRIS: Not at that time, sir. I subsequently
4 discovered that he was.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you know any other Communist pro-
6 fessors?

7 SENATOR SYMINGTON: How did you discover that he was?

8 MR. HARRIS: I discovered it through a newspaper
9 reference, sir. I read it in this way, sir. It seems to me
10 it was the New York Times. It would have been about, well,
11 five years after I was out of Columbia. I won't certify as
12 to dates. But he was identified as head of a big agricul-
13 tural workers' union that had just been announced as a
14 Communist union. It was obvious that he was that man. And
15 I had no proof before that time that he was a Communist, but
16 I felt that that was proof, the fact that he was heading
17 that union.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: In 1932, did you know that he was a
19 Communist?

20 MR. HARRIS: I did not, sir.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: While he was a professor at Columbia,
22 did you know he was a Communist?

23 MR. HARRIS: I did not know he was a Communist. Not
24 in the sense that we talk about communism today, a follower
25 of Soviet Russia. I knew he believed in collectivism, because

1 he talked about it in the classroom.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: We are not talking about Soviet Russia.
3 We are talking about a Communist.

4 MR. HARRIS: A communist today, sir, in my opinion is
5 a follower of Soviet Russia, the Soviet Russia Communist
6 Party that extends throughout the world, the International
7 Communist Party.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you discover that he was a Marxist,
9 then, in 1932?

10 MR. HARRIS: I suppose that he would be considered a
11 Marxist at that time, just as people who believe in the
12 practices in a monastery or convent or anything. That kind
13 of living, that collective living, is what he believed in.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you know any other professor at
15 Columbia who was a Communist?

16 MR. HARRIS: I know a professor who has since been
17 identified, apparently, as a Communist. I don't know that
18 he has been identified clearly as such. That was the son
19 of the financier, Thomas W. Lamont, Corliss W. Lamont.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you know in 1932 that Mr. Lamont
21 was a Communist?

22 MR. HARRIS: No.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: You did not. And you did not know that
24 Henderson was a Communist at that time, either?

25 MR. HARRIS: I say again, Mr. Chairman, --

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1 THE CHAIRMAN: What you would call a Communist, using
2 your phrase.

3 MR. HARRIS: No, I did not. I certainly did not.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: You wrote a book in 1932?

5 MR. HARRIS: I did.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: And in that, on page 150 and 151, and if
7 you care for the book, we have a copy of it here --

8 MR. HARRIS: It is available to everybody.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: -- you say:

10 "With his case as a point of departure, I made a
11 further study of the situation at Columbia. My first
12 discovery was that two young instructors, one a
13 militant Socialist and the other a Communist, both
14 graduates of Columbia, were slated for dismissal at
15 the end of the year for being too radical."

16 Now, you tell us today you did not know of any Communist
17 professors at that time. Can you tell us if this refreshes
18 your recollection to the extent that you can tell us whether
19 you did know a Communist professor in 1932 at Columbia?

20 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Will the Chairman yield a bit?

21 THE CHAIRMAN: Could I have an answer first?

22 Would that refresh your recollection? Can you now tell
23 us whether you knew any professors at Columbia in 1932 who
24 were Communists?

25 MR. HARRIS: I don't like to delay this committee, and

1 I would like to be absolutely sure that I am following the
2 terms of my oath. I remember this. I must give this as
3 background, because I remember that the proofreaders of the
4 publishing house did put capital letters on something on
5 which I had small letters. And it has this significance:
6 that a "communist" with small letters, as I understood it,
7 was any person who believed in collective living, whether
8 they believed in it in a religious sense, in a convent, or
9 a monastery, or whether they believed in it in other ways,
10 that followed this idea of the equal sharing of the pro-
11 ceeds of work, and so on. And in that sense, I certainly
12 knew people who believed in that at Columbia.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you have a different definition of
14 Communism today from what you had in 1932?

15 MR. HARRIS: I do, because I know more about it, from
16 watching them, from fighting them.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: And your definition of a "communist"
18 in 1932 was a man who believed in collectivist living, and
19 what else?

20 MR. HARRIS: I think that that is it.

21 SENATOR JACKSON: How do you distinguish, then, between
22 that type of "communist" and a socialist?

23 MR. HARRIS: The socialists I knew as an actual
24 party. I knew people who had a "Socialist" on their name,
25 because they were members of the party. They identified them

1 as such. They identified themselves. There was no hiding
2 under any --

3 SENATOR JACKSON: No, but on the basis of philosophy,
4 using your concept of communism being a form of collectivism.
5 I take it that is what you have testified to?

6 MR. HARRIS: I did.

7 SENATOR JACKSON: Now, how do you distinguish between
8 the Norman Thomas Socialists of 1932, as a party, as you
9 knew the Socialists as a party --

10 MR. HARRIS: Well, the Socialists as a party, as I
11 understood it, were believers in certain reforms in our
12 Government, really no more violent, I think, in the change
13 that would be involved, than many of the suggestions made
14 by congressional committees today.

15 SENATOR JACKSON: No, but this was 1932.

16 MR. HARRIS: This was 1932. And the Socialists, it
17 seems to me, were advocating, for instance, Social Security,
18 something that was then looked upon as a very radical idea.

19 SENATOR JACKSON: What else did they advocate?

20 MR. HARRIS: I remember that in the city of New York
21 they were working for municipal housing.

22 SENATOR JACKSON: Their platform, their program?

23 MR. HARRIS: I don't know that much about it, sir.

24 SENATOR JACKSON: Was not Socialism, under that defini-
25 tion, a form of collectivism? I am trying to get the distinction

1 in your mind.

2 You mentioned in the book that you knew a Socialist
3 professor and a Communist professor.

4 MR. COHN: Both capitals.

5 MR. HARRIS: Yes, but I did not put the capitals on
6 there.

12

7 SENATOR JACKSON: How did you distinguish in your own
8 mind? I do not want to be unfair with you, but I am trying
9 to get your state of mind and your thinking on your distinc-
10 tion between the Socialist that you referred to in your
11 book as being a professor, and the Communist on the faculty,
12 being a professor.

13 MR. HARRIS: It is indeed hard to think back that far
14 and to find the exact lines there, Senator. But since I
15 could identify certain people who announced themselves as
16 Socialists with a capital "S", followers of Mr. Norman
17 Thomas, those were very clear-cut people.

18 SENATOR JACKSON: Did not these other people identify
19 themselves as Communists at that time? Were they not pretty
20 much out in the open? In 1932?

21 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, there was no one with whom
22 I had any dealings at Columbia who identified himself with
23 the word "Communist." I put that on there simply to talk
24 about people who believed in collectivism and were not
25 members of the Socialist Party.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: What was the name of the Communist
2 professor you knew at Princeton, and the name of the one
3 that you knew at Columbia?

4 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I took authors' license
5 at the time that I stated this business of a Princeton
6 professor. I was talking in the sense that I had read about
7 a Communist professor at Princeton.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Who was he?

9 MR. HARRIS: I honestly don't remember that.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: You say "my Princeton friend." Did you
11 have a Princeton friend who was a Communist?

12 MR. HARRIS: I did not.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: You say in your book:

14 "There is, for instance, a professor at Princeton,
15 with whom I am intimately acquainted. . . . "

16 Were you intimately acquainted with a Communist professor at
17 Princeton?

18 MR. HARRIS: I was not, Mr. Chairman.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: Whom were you referring to, in your
20 book?

21 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I was referring to a news
22 clipping. I was using authors' license. I was not under
23 oath. I wrote as many newspaper men do today.

24 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Why did you say that you were
25 intimately connected with a Princeton professor who was a

1 Communist if you did not even know of a professor who was
2 a Communist? I do not understand that.

3 MR. HARRIS: I don't blame you, Senator, for not
4 understanding that. It, on the face of it, is not too
5 understandable. I was trying to demonstrate a feeling I
6 then had, and which I certainly lost in the years that fol-
7 lowed, that Communists and Socialists deserved the right
8 to serve on faculties and to speak their pieces.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: You said you did believe that, or you
10 do believe it?

11 MR. HARRIS: Did. I do not believe that Communists
12 belong anywhere in our educational system, and I have not
13 for a long time. They are, to my mind, plain clothes
14 auxiliaries of the Soviet Army. I have fought them ever
15 since that realization came to me, and I will fight them as
16 long as I live.

17 SENATOR POTTER: By the way, when did that realization
18 come to you?

19 MR. HARRIS: It became clear pretty fast, Senator, for
20 this reason: At the time that all this noise was going on
21 at Columbia, a small group known as the Social Problems Club
22 of Columbia identified itself very loudly with the protests
23 against the disciplining of me as an editor of a student paper
24 because I had differed with the administration at Columbia.
25 Now, that group took credit for something that was largely

1 spontaneous. But with what I know now to be typical
2 Communist tactics, they exploited a public situation to their
3 benefit.

4 Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. I don't wish to seem too
5 wordy. But after I got out of there, these people tried
6 to exploit me. They came to me and urged me to sign up
7 for various movements. They tried to get me to contribute
8 materials to the Daily Worker. They tried to get me
9 on platforms to identify myself with causes because my name
10 was something that had been publicized very loudly. And
11 they thought that they could capitalize on it. In fact, the
12 way they worked, the lies they told, the fact that they
13 had no scruples whatsoever, showed me very quickly what
14 breed of cat a Communist with a capital "c" is.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Harris, Mr. Weyl testified
16 this morning. He said that at the time he attended
17 Columbia, the Communist leaders on the campus were well
18 known. They were recognized. They were not underground
19 then. Would you say that is true?

20 MR. HARRIS: They may have been obvious to Mr. Weyl,
21 but I either was politically naive, as they say, didn't
22 know the facts of life, or I was just not very bright. Be-
23 cause I did not see them clearly that way, as people in
24 the Communist Party. I certainly realized it later.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Harris, in your book, on page 151,

1 you talk about a militant Socialist and a Communist who was
2 slated for dismissal at the end of the year. Who were they?

3 MR. HARRIS: They were Mr. Donald Henderson --

4 SENATOR POTTER: Was he the Communist, or the militant
5 Socialist?

6 MR. HARRIS: He was the man who had often talked
7 communism but never identified himself with the Socialist
8 Party. He was, therefore, the Communist.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: He was the Communist. All right. And the
10 militant Socialist?

11 MR. HARRIS: I wish I could remember that man's name.
12 I believe it was the son of Upton Sinclair, the author, but
13 I do not remember his first name.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, a little bit ago, you said that
15 you did not know that Henderson was a Communist until much,
16 much later than this.

17 MR. HARRIS: I didn't know he was a member of the
18 Communist Party. I knew he believed in collectivism.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me finish, if I may. You said you
20 did not know he believed in communism. You referred to
21 him as a Communist in 1932, and I gather you want to make
22 some distinction that at that time by "Communist" you meant
23 something different from what you meant later. If that is
24 true, I would like to know when you discovered that he
25 became the different type of a Communist.

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1 MR. HARRIS: I discovered that, as I answered to
2 Senator Symington, at the time I read a dispatch in the
3 New York Times showing Mr. Henderson was head of an agricul-
4 tural workers' union clearly identified as Communist.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: That was about when?

6 MR. HARRIS: I honestly can't give you that, sir. I
7 said it might be three, four, or five years after I got out
8 of Columbia. I had nothing to do with him after getting
9 clear of that situation.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: That was after you wrote the book?

11 MR. HARRIS: Yes, sir.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: You referred to him as a Communist in
13 the book. You say you referred to him as a Communist then,
14 but you did not consider him the same kind of a Communist.

15 MR. HARRIS: I should have used the word "collectivist,"
16 in the book, because that was all I knew about the man at
17 that time.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: But, now, when Mr. Henderson was discharged
19 from Columbia, is it true that you appeared on a platform
20 with three Communist speakers, and that the only speakers
21 at the meeting was the four of you, and that you gave a
22 speech and protested strongly against the right of Columbia
23 to discharge Henderson?

24 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I have a strong sense of
25 honesty and personal loyalty. When I was at Columbia, this

1 man Henderson, who was a collectivist, seemed to be friendly
2 to me and to the fact that I was being unfairly treated by
3 the administration at Columbia. He took a very active part
4 in the noise that was made about my disciplining up there.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this. Did all of the
6 Communists, as far as you know, as well as the Daily
7 Worker, take an active part in defending you at that time?

8 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I don't know that the
9 Daily Worker defended me. I know that most of the press of
10 the nation defended me, sir.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this question. As far
12 as you know, did all of the Communist elements at Columbia
13 come to your aid?

14 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I have said that I didn't
15 know what the Communist elements at Columbia were. I have
16 said that later on I discovered that this Social Problems
17 Club was certainly dominated by people who were later proved
18 to be Communists.

19 May I speak to the point of Donald Henderson further,
20 please?

21 THE CHAIRMAN: You may answer any question at as much
22 length as you care to.

23 MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think that is
24 very fair. Although I do not have the advice of counsel -

25 THE CHAIRMAN: May I say, in that connection, that each

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1 witness has a right to have counsel here, and if you care
2 to have counsel, you may. And I shall tel you for your
3 own information that the evidence before the committee at
4 this time would indicate -- I do not think I should try
5 to evaluate the evidence. One witness, known as a
6 Communist, has refused to state whether he knew you as a
7 member of the Communist Party. One of the Senators pointed
8 out to him that if he refused to answer whether he knew you
9 as a Communist or not, unless he had some reason to believe
10 that you were, he wouldbe doing you a great injustice, be-
11 cause he would be creating the impression that you were.

12 He was asked whether he honestly felt that it might incriminate him if he answered that question. He said he
13 honestly felt it would. He was allowed not to answer it.

15 In other words, there was considerable testimony here
16 in regard to you of a questionable nature. For that reason,
17 you may want to have counsel. If you do, you have a perfect
18 right to have counsel.

19 The rule is that when you have counsel, you can confer
20 with him at any time during your testimony. We do not let
21 counsel take part in the proceedings, however. So that you
22 do have a perfect right to have counsel, and if you care to
23 have counsel, it will not have any adverse effect upon the
24 thinking of the committee in arriving at a conclusion here.
25 It is an absolute right that you have. And ifyou would

1 care to get counsel, we will adjourn and let you get counsel
2 and come in tomorrow or whenever you care to.

3 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I consider that I have nothing
4 to hide from anyone.

5 -- that represents a naive statement on my part. Because
6 a man untrained in the law can unintentionally so phrase
7 things that points can be used against him and create
8 impressions that he does not intend to convey. Do I under-
9 stand that if I desire counsel, this hearing at this time will
10 be adjourned until I can produce one?

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. We will give you as much time, or
12 I do not say as much time, but I am sure we can agree on a
13 period of time to give you plenty of opportunity to discuss
14 the matter with counsel so that you will not be rushed into
15 anything at all.

16 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, suppose that this matter is
17 carried forward to a public hearing, as I assume it probably
18 will be. Would I be in order to bring counsel to that
19 public hearing, though I do not have one here at this time?

20 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, you can get counsel at any stage
21 in the proceedings you care to, either half way through the
22 executive session, or at any time during the public hearing,
23 that you want counsel. You may at any time have an
24 opportunity to do so.

25 May I say, Mr. Harris, that the reason we are holding

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1 this in executive session is because, frankly, the charges
2 made here are of such a damaging nature to you, if true,
3 that we felt that the committee should examine all aspects
4 of this situation and hear you in executive session and
5 then determine whether we would have a public hearing.

6 My personal feeling is that I think a public hearing
7 will be necessary, especially in view of your own writings
8 and some of the organizations to which you belonged and
9 some of the evidence which we have before us. And I may
10 say again that I want you to feel perfectly free if you want
11 to have us adjourn this hearing, and if you want to get
12 counsel. There will be no reflection upon you, as far as
13 this hearing is concerned. A man against whom serious
14 charges are made, even though he may be perfectly innocent,
15 may want the advice of competent counsel.

16 So I just want to impress upon you that you have the
17 absolute right to get counsel if you care to, and we will be
18 glad to adjourn, and what is more I think in fairness to you
19 we should not announce to the press or anyone that we have
20 adjourned for that reason. We can adjourn, and tomorrow
21 morning you can have counsel here. I think it would be
22 unfair to announce that half way through the proceedings you
23 decided to have counsel.

24 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, this is something that, in
25 view of the headlines that have appeared from both the execu-

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1 tive and public sessions of this committee, that I should not
2 do, but I will throw myself on the mercy of this committee,
3 and I will go ahead with my testimony on this basis, right
4 here, now. And I therefore ask that I proceed with a state-
5 ment about a protest meeting you state that I attended for
6 Mr. Donald Henderson.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: No, I asked you whether you attended or
8 not.

9 MR. HARRIS: You asked, Mr. Chairman, whether I attended
10 a hearing in which, or I mean a protest meeting in which,
11 there were Communists on the platform.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. And to refresh your recollection,
13 I can give you the names of the individuals as they have
14 appeared on the record.

15 MR. COHN: Joshua Kunitz, K-u-n-i-t-z, Heywood Broun,
16 a man named Hirsh of the International Labor Defense, and
17 Nathaniel Weyl, W-e-y-l, and yourself. It is reflected in
18 an article in the Daily Worker.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you recall that particular meeting?

20 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I do. I was explaining to you,
21 sir, that I felt a misguided sense of debt to Mr. Henderson,
22 for having supported me in a situation on the campus that
23 was almost at one stage a one-man fight to preserve what I
24 believed to be my personal rights. Mr. Henderson worked hard
25 on that thing, and at that time, therefore, I felt that I

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1 should stand up and protest against his being dismissed,
2 since I understood that he was being dismissed, at least
3 in part, for what he did on my behalf. That was a serious
4 mistake, Mr. Chairman. I will probably never live it down.
5 But I did appear there. I did not know that these gentlemen
6 were Communists. Mr. Broun certainly was not identified as
7 a Communist. He was then running, I think, as a Socialist
8 candidate for Congressman, or had run, shortly before.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you know that any of the other
10 four were Communists?

11 MR. HARRIS: I did not know that, sir.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: Is it true that Mr. Henderson was being
13 discharged because he missed classes, because he had been
14 jailed in connection with Communist demonstrations, and that
15 sort of thing? Or is that correct?

16 MR. HARRIS: I simply can't recollect that that was the
17 case. I know that it was represented that he had been
18 discharged at least in part because he had tried to support
19 a student editor, a non-Communist student editor, who had
20 been disciplined by the university.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you know that he had been accused
22 of being a Communist prior to the time that you spoke at this
23 rally?

24 MR. HARRIS: I am not aware of his being charged with
25 being a Communist, except in the collective sense that there

1 people who charged that all the leadership of the protest
2 movement on my behalf were left wing. It was flatly untrue.
3 There were religious leaders; there were faculty members
4 who had no political affiliation other than Republican or
5 Democratic.

6 I was a young man feeling his oats. I should have had
7 more political sense. I didn't. I have been trying to live
8 down this particular part of my life since that time.

9 SENATOR McCLELLAN: What was your age at that time,
10 for the record, please?

11 MR. HARRIS: I think 21, sir, 21 or 22.

12 MR. COHN: Is that a fact? Weren't you born in 1909?

13 MR. HARRIS: Yes, 1909. That would make me 23. Forgive
14 me, Senator. I was 23 at that time.

15 SENATOR McCLELLAN: Let us get it in the record. I
16 think it is pertinent.

17 SENATOR POTTER: When was your book copyrighted?

18 MR. HARRIS: I would think 1932.

19 SENATOR POTTER: In 1932?

20 MR. HARRIS: That is right. That is 21 years ago,
21 gentlemen. There are lots of people in the United States
22 that realized the terrible thing communism is, in these
23 years that have gone by, and some of the most effective
24 fighters against communism that we have, have learned because
25 they saw these things happen when they were looking at

1 Communists fairly nearby at a protest meeting or something
2 of that sort.

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: What you are saying is that you
4 completely disavow this book, is it not?

5 MR. HARRIS: I completely disavow the political portions
6 of that book.

7 SENATOR SYMINGTON: And you have made a good many
8 misstatements in the book that you now wish you had not made?

9 MR. HARRIS: They certainly are misstatements, on the
10 basis of my present knowledge. Most of them were not, in
11 my opinion, -- I didn't realize they were misstatements,
12 except that business of using the authors' license of
13 identifying myself more closely with people than --

14 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Let me just ask you a couple of
15 questions, here, if I may.

16 You said: "The colleges supported wholly by Protestant
17 sects lead the way in creating the worst atmosphere of
18 university fear in America. State colleges follow close
19 behind. The Catholic institutions must be placed next.
20 Last, but still intolerant, are the privately-endowed
21 colleges unattached to any religious organization."

22 How do you feel about that now?

23 MR. HARRIS: I think that was a flatly incorrect state-
24 ment. I believed it at that time, because I read a list of
25 college editors who had been dismissed in those places, and

13

1 faculty members who had been dismissed, and that was what
2 I based it on.

3 SENATOR SYMINGTON: Then you have over here a state-
4 ment that a friend of yours on the Columbia faculty has,
5 as his two strongest convictions that America should be
6 under Fascist control and that marriages should be cast
7 out of our religious observances. How do you feel about that
8 now?

9 MR. HARRIS: I am not advocating and did not advocate
10 there, sir, those statements.

11 I did know such a person. He was a member of the
12 French faculty at Columbia, and during his lectures he some-
13 times advocated those ideas.

14 SENATOR SYMINGTON: So you were just really defending
15 his right to talk to sophomores about it and advocate such
16 things, but you did not necessarily believe in them. Is that
17 correct?

18 MR. HARRIS: There is no "necessarily," sir. I just
19 didn't believe in them, Senator.

20 SENATOR SYMINGTON: But you did believe in his right to
21 advocate those with undergraduates; is that correct?

22 MR. HARRIS: I believed at that time that any man with
23 proper academic competence, regardless of his political
24 views or his social views, if he was not a criminal, had a
25 right to speak, to teach. Yes, I am afraid I did believe

1 he had a right to teach those views.

2 SENATOR SYMINGTON: But you now completely disavow
3 these views, and you do not believe this way any more?

4 MR. HARRIS: I do not, Senator.

5 SENATOR McCLELLAN: What was your age when you wrote
6 this book?

7 MR. HARRIS: The same period, sir, 1932.

8 SENATOR JACKSON: It is copyrighted in 1932. When did
9 you do the writing?

10 MR. HARRIS: I did it in a period of about three weeks,
11 about that time.

12 SENATOR JACKSON: You wrote it in three weeks?

13 MR. HARRIS: I did, and it is a bad book in every sense
14 of the term.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Who helped you write it?

16 MR. HARRIS: My wife helped me type it. Nobody else.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Did Mr. Henderson help you write it?

18 MR. HARRIS: He certainly didn't. I had nothing to do
19 with Mr. Henderson on any basis at any time in my life. I
20 had nothing to do with him.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: There is a club called the --

22 MR. HARRIS: -- the Social Problems Club is probably
23 what you are talking about.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Weyl tells us that at some time in
25 the early thirties, that became completely dominated or

1 controlled, and I forget which word he used, by the Com-
2 munist Party. How active were you in that club?

3 MR. HARRIS: Unless I was signed up as a member during
4 the time that the protest meetings were going on, I never
5 had anything to do with it. I didn't go to any of their
6 meetings. I was never a member, unless, as I say, during that
7 peak of strain and excitement and hysteria on the campus --
8 unless I became a member at that time. And I am not aware
9 that I did. I do not think that I was ever a member of the
10 club. I didn't believe in its objectives.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: You did not believe in them, then?

12 MR. HARRIS: No, I did not. I believed in some of the
13 things. They were supporting things like Social Security.
14 Surely I believed in them. But like all organizations that we
15 now learn are Communist organizations today, they climb
16 aboard bandwagons.

17 SENATOR POTTER: What was your political philosophy at
18 that time? You have testified you were not a Communist. Did
19 you consider yourself a Socialist? Or an archist? Or what?

20 MR. HARRIS: I would consider myself, sir, what is now
21 identified as a New Dealer.

22 SENATOR JACKSON: Were you registered?

23 MR. HARRIS: I was not a registered voter at that time,
24 because of difficulties of residence, sir.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: Were you what you would call a collectivist?

1 MR. HARRIS: I do not think that I would qualify as a
2 collectivist at that time.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: You did not think much of the American
4 Legion at that time, did you?

5 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I did not think of some of
6 the historical things that some legion posts had done, at
7 that time.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: The Legion has been in the forefront
9 in fighting communism. The Legion has been the favorite
10 target of practically every communist organization. I am
11 not saying that as the reason you felt unkindly toward
12 them. But I note in your book you use this phrase, on page
13 122. I do not have the book before me. You say:

14 " . . . I remember (him) as a sadistic butcher
15 who is now probably the commander of some American
16 Legion post."

17 I wonder if you still have that feeling toward the Legion?

18 MR. HARRIS: I certainly do not, Mr. Chairman. Twenty-
19 one years ago, in the middle of the depression, there were
20 stories in the papers about people who were striking or
21 otherwise apparently trying to achieve some sort of social
22 aim, and when those groups appeared, I often read in the
23 papers of Legion-led groups that seemed to be serving on
24 the side of the police, you might say, going after these
25 protest groups, which at that time I had no realization were

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1 led by Communists. And it seemed to me that any Legion
2 post that would indulge in this essentially vigilante
3 activity would be as un-American as a Communist would be.
4 I donot think so now, because I don't think that is the way
5 they worked. But that is the way it was presented in the
6 press, and that is the way I understood it.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Harris, do you know Mr. Schechter?

8 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I don't recognize that name.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you have anything to do with the
10 Radio Branch, or do you have any dealings with the Radio
11 Branch, of Hi-Cog?

12 MR. HARRIS: Well, we now, sir, in the last few months,
13 since about last June, have had responsibility for the
14 radio operations in Germany, but I don't have such close
15 information about the organization as to know individuals in
16 it. I don't think I know a single person in that set-up.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: You would not know the chief of the
18 Radio Branch?

19 MR. HARRIS: No, I do not.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: You do not know Mr. Schechter.

21 Do you know Mr. Theodore Kaghan?

22 MR. HARRIS: I have met Mr. Kaghan when he was in
23 Washington on one occasion, at one meeting, that is all.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Charles Lewis?

25 MR. HARRIS: I don't know that name, sir.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shephard Stone?

2 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Shephard Stone, yes, sir. He was
3 back here for a considerable time. He was a former New
4 York Times editor who went over there and headed the Public
5 Affairs Program.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you know him quite well?

7 MR. HARRIS: No, I do not know him quite well.

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1 THE CHAIRMAN: Did someone from the New York Office of
2 the Voice come down and protest to you that some men who
3 had been turned down for security reasons when they applied
4 to get a job on the Voice were in the Radio Section over in
5 Hi-Cog and were disrupting the attempts of the Voice to run
6 an effective anti-Communist program out of Berlin, radio
7 program? Or out of Munich?

8 MR. HARRIS: To the best of my knowledge and belief,
9 certainly not.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: No one came to you to protest?

11 MR. HARRIS: No. I am not aware of it.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you know Mr. Puhon?

13 MR. HARRIS: I certainly know Mr. Puhon.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you know Mr. Thompson?

15 MR. HARRIS: Yes.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: Did Mr. Thompson ever come to you and
17 protest to you the lack of cooperation that they were getting
18 from the Radio Branch in Munich?

19 MR. HARRIS: I do not remember such a protest, sir.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: Did he ever call to your attention that
21 some of the men responsible had failed to get security clear-
22 ance and were still in the Radio Branch over at Hi-Cog?

23 MR. HARRIS: I honestly do not remember Mr. Thompson
24 having ever said any such thing. I do remember that we order-
25 ed a security check of that area on one occasion, but I cannot

remember the reason behind it. I do not know what caused it.

It may have been Mr. Thompson.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Harris, is this correct: that in the Voice you have a number of people who have had security checks? The Security Division has ordered that they not be promoted, because they could not pass security clearance? Tabs or some notation was put in their files, but nevertheless they are continued on in their jobs, despite the failure to get a security clearance? Are you aware of that situation?

MR. HARRIS: If there is anybody of that type on the rolls, he will be fired tomorrow morning, if I know about it. I do not think there is any such person on the rolls at this time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you go into these fronts now, counsel?

MR. COHN: Were you ever connected with the American Student Union in any way?

MR. HARRIS: No; I was not.

MR. COHN: Can you explain the fact that your name appears on a circular issued by the American Student Union as a member of the Sponsoring Committee?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I doubt whether it did.

MR. COHN: Well, do you have that available? Can we get an exact copy of that, do you think? A photostat? We don't have that available. We will have it available in the morning.

1 MR. HARRIS: Let me explain something, Mr. Chairman. I
2 am perfectly willing to point out that I was a member of what
3 they call the Student League for Industrial Democracy. It
4 was sponsored by the New York Headquarters of Mr. Norman
5 Thomas.

6 MR. COHN: When was that?

7 MR. HARRIS: Well, it was about this same time - 1932.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, this was Socialist sponsored?

9 MR. HARRIS: Sponsored by Norman Thomas. It was not
10 identified, actually, as part of the Socialist Party, and
11 no one joining it undertook to support the Socialist Party,
12 but it expressed beliefs in the philosophy that we now know
13 as progressive New Dealism. They believed in Public Housing
14 and Social Security, in things that today a great many people
15 in this country believe in as perfectly proper aims of the
16 Democratic Party or the Republican Party.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Has Mr. Thomas been a candidate for
18 President on the Socialist ticket?

19 MR. HARRIS: He ran that year.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: And you were aware of the fact that this
21 organization that you joined was sponsored by the Socialist
22 candidate for President, I assume.

23 MR. HARRIS: I was aware that he was the sponsor of it,
24 yes, sir.

25 MR. COHN: You say you were connected with this? My

1 question is: How do you explain the fact that your name
2 appears on the Sponsoring Committee of the American Student
3 Union?

4 MR. HARRIS: I mention that only because my understanding
5 is that the American Student Union was formed by a sort of a
6 merger of this Student League for Industrial Democracy, with
7 another group or two, one of them I thought later shown to
8 be Communist.

9 SENATOR JACKSON: When do you think you joined? Do you
10 remember?

11 MR. HARRIS: The League for Industrial Democracy -- that
12 would have been 1932.

13 SENATOR JACKSON: You said the Student League. There
14 were two organizations, the League for Industrial Democracy
15 was one organization, and then this Student League?

16 MR. HARRIS: This was the Student League for Industrial
17 Democracy.

18 SENATOR JACKSON: Do you remember when you joined that?

19 MR. HARRIS: I believe it was '32, sir, 1932.

20 SENATOR JACKSON: How long were you in it?

21 MR. HARRIS: It would have been a year or a year and a
22 half.

23 SENATOR JACKSON: While you were at Columbia?

24 MR. HARRIS: While I was at Columbia, and for about --
25 well, I think a matter of months thereafter. Their bulletin

1 was a very useful device, and I kept receiving that. The
2 Student Outlook, I think it was.

3 SENATOR JACKSON: Well, how long were you around the
4 Campus, from the time you joined in '32? Were you there
5 through '33?

6 MR. HARRIS: I was not on the Campus in '33. I was a
7 reporter for the New York Journal American in 1933.

8 SENATOR JACKSON. In 1933. Well, where were you the
9 balance of '32?

10 MR. HARRIS: In the fall of '32, I was also a reporter
11 for the New York Journal American.

12 SENATOR JACKSON: You went to work for the New York
13 Journal American?

14 MR. HARRIS: I didn't go there until, I guess, August,
15 maybe, August, 1932. Before that I did some free lance writ-
16 ing; I wrote this book.

17 SENATOR JACKSON: When did you graduate from Columbia?

18 MR. HARRIS: I did not graduate from Columbia, sir. I
19 was suspended in April.

20 SENATOR JACKSON: Of '32?

21 MR. HARRIS: Of '32. I was suspended for eighteen days.
22 There was so much hostility and hysteria on the Campus by the
23 time that eighteen-day period was over that I resigned.

24 SENATOR JACKSON: Well, did you join the American Student
25 Union then?

1 MR. HARRIS: I am not aware that I have ever joined the
2 American Student Union, sir. I joined the Student League for
3 Industrial Democracy, and if that was automatically merged
4 into the American Student Union, it is possible that people
5 who were in that other group were listed on the group of
6 sponsors. But I really do not remember.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: What were you doing in 1937, if you know?
8 What were you working at?

9 MR. HARRIS: I was head of the -- or not the head, that
10 is not correct. I was the third man in line, the Executive
11 Editor. I was Executive Editor of the American Guide Series
12 project of the WPA, making guides of all the States of the
13 Union.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, according to the Un-American Ac-
15 tivities Committee, the American Student Union was formed in
16 1937, as a result of a United Front gathering of young
17 Socialists and Communists in '37.

18 "The Young Communist League took credit for crea-
19 tion of the above, and the Union offered free trips to
20 Russia."

21 still quoting from the report:

22 "The above claims to have led as many as 500,000
23 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United
24 States."

25 You were listed on the Sponsoring Committee. Is it your

1 testimony that you knew nothing about that?

2 MR. HARRIS: My testimony is that I do not remember in
3 any way giving my name to any Sponsoring Group of the Amer-
4 ican Students Union.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you take any part in the formation of
6 this American Student Union?

7 MR. HARRIS: I certainly attended no meetings of any
8 kind, or anything of that sort.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Did you discuss the formation of this
10 group with anyone?

11 MR. HARRIS: I remember reading it in the newspapers,
12 to a great extent, but I do not remember discussing it with
13 people or taking part in it.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: I assume when you read it in the news-
15 papers, they most likely carried a list of the sponsors. Did
16 you read your name in the papers?

17 MR. HARRIS: I do not remember seeing my name in that
18 connection. Still, I naturally should not doubt anything
19 this committee produces, but I do not remember it. If there
20 is such a thing, I do not remember it. I remember that, I
21 think, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was the person who was listed
22 as the big sponsor, according to my recollection of the
23 situation.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: See if I get your testimony. Can it be
25 summed up roughly thusly: that for a period early in the '30's

1 you did indulge in activities, LeftWing activities, radical
2 activities, which you condemn now? You have no sympathy with
3 what you have done at that time, no agreement with the state-
4 ments made in the book at that time, and your testimony is
5 that that was a result of lack of knowledge of the Communist
6 movement and its purposes, but that you are now definitely
7 an anti-Communist. Is that essentially your testimony?

8 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I would say that every act I
9 have ever taken in the Government of the United States that
10 had any implications with respect to communism or non-com-
11 munism has been anti-Communist. I consider that my oath
12 as a member of the Government of the United States is flatly
13 opposed to communism, and that I have been required to fight
14 it. I would not be honest in my oath if I didn't fight it.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this, Mr. Harris: We have a
16 tremendous lot of difficulty evaluating conflicting testimony
17 in regard to an individual. We want to be very careful not
18 to do him an injustice. But would you agree with me that if
19 you found a man high in Government, as high as you are, and
20 in one of the most important positions, and if you found that
21 he had been expelled from school because of apparently radical
22 activities --

23 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt to say that
24 there is nothing in the record that would say that I was
25 expelled for radical activities.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: We will delete that, then. I just
2 want to get the facts that both of agree are facts. Strike
3 the part about being expelled for radical activities.

4 You find that he belonged to a club which has been
5 testified to as a Communist-dominated club. You find that
6 he appeared on the platform with three other individuals, all
7 of whom either have admitted that they were Communists at the
8 time, or have been identified under oath as Communists.

9 MR. HARRIS: All twenty-one years ago.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. Let me finish. That you were ap-
11 pearing at that time to defend the right of a Communist to
12 teach in school. If we find that your name on the letterhead
13 appears as a sponsor of an organization formed for the pur-
14 pose of capturing the minds of youth; if we find the type of
15 writings you wrote, in which you refer to your Communist
16 Professor friend at Princeton, at Columbia, and criticized
17 the University for wanting to get rid of them, - I assume
18 that if you were in our position you would want to have
19 rather convincing evidence that the man in question, your-
20 self in this case, had actually reformed and no longer felt
21 this way.

22 MR. HARRIS: I think you should have such convincing
23 evidence, and I think I should have a right to present it,
24 sir, through witnesses, and through full examination of my
25 security file.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: Would you have any objection to our ex-
2 amining your security file?

3 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, we are under an Executive
4 Order that says we may not give such files to anyone outside
5 our agency.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: We are not asking you to give us the file.
7 I wouldn't have any right to order you to give the file. The
8 question is now whether you are willing to have us examine
9 your entire file. As I recall, the latest Truman order
10 provided that no files would be made available to a committee
11 unless the individual concerned felt that the file would be
12 of benefit in clearing him. The Truman order did not use
13 that language, but I gather that to be the purpose of it. So
14 I assume that if you request now that your file be made
15 available, undoubtedly the Assistant Secretary of State,
16 Mr. Lourie, would accommodate you and make that file available
17 to us.

18 SENATOR JACKSON: In other words, would you waive any
19 personal right that you might have as to the file, so that
20 the committee could look at the file?

21 MR. HARRIS: I would, sir, because I have not_hing to
22 hide in any manner. I have told you the facts.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, can we have your per-
24 mission to tell Mr. Lourie that it is perfectly agreeable to
25 you that we have the complete security file as well as all

1 the Loyalty Hearings, in other words, everything that they
2 have concerning your case?

3 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I must respectfully resent
4 one phrase you use there, "Loyalty Hearings". I have had
5 no Loyalty Hearing at any time in my history, because I have
6 a clear record, and I will stand by it. I have no objection
7 to this committee examining my security record, under one
8 condition. I think I have the right to say that since such
9 a file includes interviews with all sorts of people, whether
10 they are disgruntled former employees or neighbors who didn't
11 like the fact that you mowed your lawn at the wrong time of
12 day -- I have the right to ask that that be kept within the
13 confines of this committee and not made public.

14 SENATOR McCLELLAN: I think you are correct.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes; I think you are right in that. I do
16 not think hearsay testimony should be made public. May I say
17 that I am referring to loyalty hearings, and by "loyalty
18 hearings" I was not intimating there was any finding that
19 you were disloyal. I know nothing about your case except
20 what we have heard today.

21 Has your case ever been before a Loyalty or a Security
22 Board, if you know?

23 MR. HARRIS: Not unless such examination is done without
24 the knowledge of the person involved. I have never been call-
25 ed by them. I have never been given any special so-called

1 Interrogatory by them. Because I have always furnished every
2 bit of information they wanted.

3 May I add this, Mr. Chairman? I am taking a lot of the
4 time of this committee, but you are dealing with something
5 that affects my whole life, the life of my family, the people
6 I love. I will say only this. I have been an honest and
7 loyal employee of this Government from the first minute that
8 I have been in it. On every occasion when anyone has ever
9 brought up any of such facts as you have cited here, things
10 that got into the newspapers back in 1942, or anybody's sus-
11 picion, I have immediately gone to the Security Officer of
12 my Agency. I have pointed out to him that article or that
13 reference, and I have said, "Please go back and check this
14 thing from end to end. Look at it as thoroughly as you
15 wish. I will give you anything you want. My life is an open
16 book. I live in a glass bowl. You can have everything
17 about me." I have done that over and over again, and I can
18 prove it, by memoranda and otherwise.

19 In the Department of State, during the time I have
20 been there, there have been two public references to my ex-
21 periences at Columbia University, one about 1947, in which
22 the New York Journal picked up and said that somebody, an
23 ex-student Red, was sitting in a soft job in the State De-
24 partment. And I went to my Security Officer, and I said,
25 "Here is what they are saying about me. I was at Columbia. I

1 did these things. You have all the facts. I will give you
2 anything more you want. Please get the file out, examine it
3 in fu_ll, and turn it over to anybody you wish."

4 I have in addition cooperated fully with the Federal
5 Bureau of Investigation on every opportunity. I have volun-
6 teered information to them when I felt there was anything
7 that would be of interest to them in any contact that I had.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Harris, one of the jobs that this
9 committee has to do is to find out why the abysmal either
10 incompetence or stupidity or the deliberate sabotaging of
11 the Voice of America. I think that every Senator sitting
12 here watching the testimony has wondered why certain things
13 have happened. I have been very, very interested in getting
14 to the bottom and finding out who is responsible, either for
15 the complete incompetence in certain lines, or, as I say,
16 the attempt to sabotage. There have been witnesses on that
17 point. We do not want to damage you or anybody else unless
18 we find you were a cog, a part of that machinery, that we
19 are looking for. Your record is certainly unusual for a
20 period of time. The testimony here has been that since
21 then, for example, when you were contacted in regard to four
22 individuals over in Munich who failed clearance after a secur-
23 ity investigation, you just brushed it off and said "well, you
24 just don't understand this."

25 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I deny that.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: I do not want to try to recall the tes-
2 timony. I think that that should be briefed for you so that
3 you can see it, and answer that.

4 Some of your testimony here is not too convincing to
5 me today, when you say you did not know any Communists in
6 1932 --

7 MR. HARRIS: I said I did not know them as Communist
8 Party members, sir.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Well, you said you did not know any Com-
10 munists, and then, when confronted with your book, you tried
11 to define some different kind of a Communist, which most of
12 us here cannot understand.

13 Let me finish this, so that you will realize the dif-
14 ference, sitting on that side of the table and on this side
15 of the table.

16 MR. HARRIS: Forgive me.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you have anything further, Mr. Counsel?

18 MR. COHN: Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman.

19 Do you know a man by the name of Thomas Davin, D-a-v-i-n?

20 MR. HARRIS: I know Mr. Thomas Davin, or did know him.

21 MR. COHN: Did you know him well?

22 MR. HARRIS: I knew him quite well for, I guess, a few
23 months, it would be, in 1933, '32 or '33.

24 MR. COHN: When is the last time you saw him?

25 MR. HARRIS: I think it would be not later than 1935

15

1 or '36.

2 MR. COHN: Did you know that he was a Communist?

3 MR. HARRIS: No. Is he a Communist?

4 MR. COHN: Well, when you knew him, he was an Editorial
5 Writer for the magazine New Masses, which was an official
6 publication of the Communist Party.

7 MR. HARRIS: He certainly wasn't when I had anything to
8 do with him. He was an editor of the Cosmopolitan Magazine,
9 or Hearst Magazine. That was when I was associated with him.

10 MR. COHN: Did you know he was an editor of the New Masses?

11 MR. HARRIS: No.

12 MR. COHN: You did not know he was a Communist?

13 MR. HARRIS: I certainly did not.

14 MR. COHN: As a matter of fact, you were on the New York
15 Journal American, were you not?

16 MR. HARRIS: I was.

17 MR. COHN: Do you know a man by the name of Simon Gerson?

18 MR. HARRIS: I don't know that name. I think I have seen
19 him in some way.

20 MR. COHN: Let me ask you this: Do you deny that you
21 were on the Sponsoring Committee of the American Student
22 Union in 1947? I am not clear.

23 MR. HARRIS: I am not quibbling either.

24 MR. COHN: No; I say I am not clear, as to whether you
25 flatly deny that or not.

1 MR. HARRIS: I flatly deny membership, or any recol-
2 lection of it, in the Sponsoring Committee of the American
3 Student Union.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Harris, that answer does not help us
5 much. You say you were anti-Communist, commencing some time
6 in the early thirties, before '35. Now, you would certainly
7 remember it if you took part in this sponsoring committee of
8 a Communist organization. So when you say "I deny any mem-
9 bership, any recollection of it", it is the sort of answer we
10 get day after day by individuals who want to protect them-
11 selves against perjury and still do not want to give us the
12 truth. I am not saying that is your situation, but we hear
13 that so often that it does not impress the committee when
14 you say "I deny any recollection of forming a Communist group.
15 My God, man, you would remember if you did or if you did not.

16 MR. HARRIS: If I had part in forming any Communist
17 group, I am sure I would remember it. The Chairman certainly
18 knows, from testimony that has been given before these com-
19 mittees, and things of that sort, that the ways of Communists
20 are indeed devious, that sometimes they come around and they
21 say, "we are taking up a collection for the poor apple man
22 on the corner" and you sign, and you discover you are a member
23 of the Committee for the Support of Apple Growers", or some-
24 thing of that kind, and it turns out to be Communist-domin-
25 ated.

1 Now, if they came to me and said, "We are having some
2 people come down here to see Mrs. Roosevelt" or "We are going
3 to do something of that sort, and we would like you to help
4 make it possible for some students to come down and see some
5 people" or something like that, I could have contributed to
6 that, but that does not constitute becoming a sponsor of an
7 organization, if I know anything about it.

8 MR. COHN: All right. The question is this. Let me
9 ask you specifically: Were you on a committee for a dinner
10 given by the American Student in New York on March 21st,
11 1937? That is very specific. You say that you had broken,

12 that you had changed all your views long before this, and
13 all that. Now, the question was: Were you on a committee --

14 MR. HARRIS: What was this dinner for?

15 MR. COHN: It was a dinner sponsored by the American
16 Student Union.

17 MR. HARRIS: For what purpose?

18 MR. COHN: I don't know the purpose. It was sponsored
19 by the American Student Union.

20 MR. HARRIS: If a man comes to you and says, "I am
21 running a dinner on behalf of Social Security" or "I am
22 running a dinner on behalf of the poor man down on the cor-
23 ner", or something of that sort, you might contribute to it.
24 Now, if I am shown as a sponsor of an American Student Union
25 activity, I insist on my answer that I do not remember having

1 anything to do with something that had to do with the Student
2 Union. You have it there. Apparently I was so listed. In
3 that case, I must have been asked to sponsor a dinner for a
4 particular purpose and was not wise enough to recognize the
5 sponsorship.

6 MR. COHN: I see.

7 Do you know a man by the name of James McGraw?

8 MR. HARRIS: Yes, Mr. James McGraw was one of the key
9 people in that New York Unit of the American Guide Project,
10 the Writers.

11 MR. COHN: When did you know Mr. McGraw?

12 MR. HARRIS: Well, it would have been all the time that
13 I was -- I mean, I knew him vaguely.

14 MR. COHN: Give us the years, as best you can.

15 MR. HARRIS: Just a minute, sir. I probably would have
16 seen him first in '35 and last in '38, during the time I was
17 Executive Editor for the American Guide Series, because he
18 was so employed.

19 MR. COHN: Did you know that Mr. McGraw was a Communist?

20 MR. HARRIS: No, Mr. Chairman, I did not.

21 MR. COHN: You did not know that at all?

22 MR. HARRIS: No; but I was suspicious of him.

23 MR. COHN: You were suspicious of Mr. McGraw. Were you
24 suspicious that he was a Communist in 1938?

25 MR. HARRIS: I was suspicious that he was easy on Com-

1 munists.

2 MR. COHN: I see. Do you know that Mr. McGraw was one
3 of the members of the Editorial Board in the issuance of this
4 magazine Direction, along with you?

5 MR. HARRIS: I would suspect that he would be, because
6 Mr. Alsberg put a number of his top people on that list.

7 MR. COHN: How about Mr. Gehr?

8 THE CHAIRMAN: A number of his top people? What do
9 you mean by that?

10 MR. HARRIS: I simply mean, Mr. Chairman, that the
11 Federal Writers Project was headed by Mr. Alsberg, that he
12 had officials under him, including so-called State Directors,
13 and in the case of New York City they had a special project,
14 a New York City Director and assistants, and as I remember
15 it, Mr. Alsberg caused to be collected a number of off time,
16 that is, off-Government time, writings of people who had been
17 on the project, and had it made up, with the cooperation of
18 some people who ran this magazine, had it made up into an
19 issue, and as what he considered a friendly gesture to a
20 number of us, he just put our names on as the Editorial Board
21 of this issue.

22 MR. COHN: Now, did you know Joseph Gehr was a Communist?

23 MR. HARRIS: At the time he was in the Federal Writers'
24 Project, I did not. I have since heard him so identified
25 several times.

1 MR. COHN: Yes. Did you suspect it, as you did in the
2 case of McGraw?

3 MR. HARRIS: No. He was much more clever, a much more
4 clever type. There was no evidence that he was favoring these
5 Communist groups.

6 MR. COHN: Did you know Edward Harold Rosenberg?

7 MR. HARRIS: I don't think I ever met that gentleman.
8 I have heard his name, however, because he was in that New
9 York Unit of the Project.

10 MR. COHN: Did you know that he was a Communist?

11 MR. HARRIS: I don't -- No, I didn't know that, but it
12 is not unlikely that a number of the key people there were
13 Communists.

14 MR. COHN: And then we have discussed Mr. Mangione al-
15 ready, and you have told us you don't think he was a Com-
16 munist?

17 MR. HARRIS: No, but he also seemed to be very easy on
18 them.

19 MR. COHN: You said he seemed to be easy on them. And
20 Mr. McGraw was very easy on them.

21 MR. HARRIS: And I resigned because of the fact that they
22 were, and that Henry Alsberg was being easy on them.

23 MR. COHN: Did you resign? Did you split with Mr.
24 Alsberg?

25 MR. HARRIS: I certainly did, as far as the conduct of

1 that project was concerned.

2 MR. COHN: Now, of course, we have a situation here where
3 you were suspicious of Mr. McGraw. He was easy on Communists.
4 You were suspicious of Mr. Alsberg. You were suspicious of
5 Mr. Gehr.

6 MR. HARRIS: I was not suspicious of Mr. Alsberg, as
7 though he were a Communist. I was quite convinced that he
8 was a misguided, very easy-going philosopher, who was trying
9 to do an executive job and just wasn't fitted for that kind
10 of thing... He didn't seem to even understand what was going
11 on, or else he didn't care.

12 MR. COHN: You say you had split with Mr. Alsberg? Is
13 that right?

14 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I say that I had split with
15 his direction of that project.

16 MR. COHN: I see.

17 MR. HARRIS: Wherever I got questions thereafter, I got
18 some questions from Alsberg and others on the project about
19 things that had happened, or parts of editorial procedure,
20 and I continued in close communication with him.

21 MR. COHN: When did you split with Mr. Alsberg; just
22 the year.

23 MR. HARRIS: I think that would be 1938.

24 MR. COHN: Can you explain the fact that Mr. Alsberg gave
25 you as one of his three personal references four years later

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1 when he was seeking Government employment, in view of the
2 fact that you had split with him on the grounds that he was
3 soft with Communists? Do you think if those were the facts
4 it would be a particularly judicious act on the part of Mr.
5 Alsberg?

6 MR. HARRIS: It would not be a particularly judicious
7 act, but I don't think he has ever been shown to be a Com-
8 munist. I think he is an easy-going man who has been mis-
9 used by his friends. There is no doubt about it.

10 MR. COHN: I was just wondering, in view of the fact
11 that you resigned in protest of his attitude as being soft on
12 Communists, why he would give you as a reference when seeking
13 Government employment four years later, after seeing you only
14 once in the interim.

15 MR. HARRIS: The Counsel seems asept at creating impres-
16 sions that I think are contrary to the truth.

17 MR. COHN: Will you please state any inaccuracy in
18 any question I asked you?

19 MR. HARRIS: Only in the implication, Mr. Cohn. You
20 are implying that I was closely associated with Mr. Alsberg,
21 or something, while I was in OWI.

22 MR. COHN: I am implying that you were closely associated
23 with Mr. Alsberg when you were in OWI?

24 MR. HARRIS: You are saying when he applied to OWI
25 he used my name as a reference.

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1 MR. COHN: I am stating that as a fact. I have seen
2 the application.

3 MR. HARRIS: I didn't know he did that.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: You said there were three individuals used
5 as reference. Who were the other two?

6 MR. COHN: Harry Hopkins and Felix Frankfurter.

7 Did you ever work in OWI?

8 MR. HARRIS: I certainly did, sir.

9 MR. COHN: I didn't know that. When did you go to OWI?

10 MR. HARRIS: I went to OWI in 1942.

11 MR. COHN: Who were your references for employment in
12 OWI?

13 MR. HARRIS: I don't remember that. I doubt whether I
14 had to have special references. I was the State Director of
15 the Office of Government Reports in New York. That organization
16 was merged with the Office of War Information, and I moved
17 from OGR into OWI automatically.

18 MR. COHN: Did you have any security check before you
19 went into OWI?

20 MR. HARRIS: I had a security check while I was in OWI
21 by the Office of Emergency Management, followed by one by
22 the Civil Service Commission.

23 MR. COHN: Were any of these questions raised then?

24 MR. HARRIS: The Civil Service Commission went into --
25 well, I now realize that the time sequence is wrong, when I

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1 say Civil Service Commission. The Civil Service Commission
2 investigated me thoroughly about 1940, and not only were these
3 questions raised, but they were raised by me, Mr. Chairman.
4 They were raised by me, and I can prove it. I can prove that
5 I sent that investigator up and asked him to go through every-
6 thing in the Columbia Campus he could lay his hands on. I
7 gave him everything in my personal files. I gave him my
8 friends and every personal contact I had that I remembered.
9 He read every file of the Columbia Spectator. I remember him
10 very specifically, because it was a Mr. Spark, and he worked
11 for the Civil Service Commission, and he did a thorough job.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: Before we get through -- I do not want to
13 interrupt the sequence of your testimony, but before we get
14 through I would like to have Mr. Harris give the reason why
15 he was expelled from Columbia. I do not want to interfere
16 with the sequence of the questioning at this time.

17 MR. HARRIS: A suspension is not an expulsion, but that
18 is a technicality, I suppose.

19 MR. COHN: You were suspended?

20 MR. HARRIS: I was suspended, and resigned at the end
21 of an eighteen-day period of suspension.

22 MR. COHN: I see. Was that shortly after you had re-
23 turned from Harlan County, Kentucky.

24 MR. HARRIS: I never went to Harlan County, Kentucky.

25 MR. COHN: Did you ever anything to do with any group

1 that did go there?

2 MR. HARRIS: I am sure I know what you are talking about,
3 because for the first time that paper showed, the Columbia
4 Spectator showed, an interest in conditions that were then
5 being shown in the newspapers very prominently. There was a
6 group of people going out, as we understood it, as students
7 at Columbia, to study what was going on in the Harlan Ken-
8 tucky mine fields. And one of the reporters on the paper
9 was asked to go along. He asked me whether me might be
10 permitted to file dispatches from there, and I said that
11 since he was accompanying a student group properly sponsor-
12 ed by the University, as I understood it, he could go ahead
13 and file dispatches. So there were several little accounts
14 of the trip. I remember it.

15 SENATOR POTTER: What student group sponsored the trip?

16 MR. HARRIS: It seems to me that that was basically an
17 outgrowth of one of the courses at Columbia, not one that I
18 was taking, a course in sociology, if I remember correctly,
19 and also I think that two or three of the clubs on the Campus,
20 probably including the Social Problems Club, would have had
21 people along.

22 MR. COHN: Now, let me ask you this: Did you ever serve
23 in the Navy?

24 MR. HARRIS: I never served in the Navy. I applied for
25 a commission in the Navy when I was in OWI. I gave full in-

1 formation about my background, and so forth, to the Navy.

2 After a certain time, they claimed that my physical condi-
3 tion was not appropriate for a commission, both on eyes and
4 age.

5 MR. COHN: Was it your feeling that you had been rejected
6 because of your physical condition?

7 MR. HARRIS: No, sir, it was not. I felt that I had been
8 rejected because of what I considered misinterpretation of
9 my experiences at Columbia and the intervening years.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Your age would not preclude you from
11 getting a commission, I assume. You were born in 1906.

12 MR. HARRIS: I am not saying that it would preclude it,
13 sir, but I remember that the gentleman who talked with me men-
14 tioned age as one of the factors. My eyesight, I think,
15 was the thing that was on the piece of paper.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: Well, did you feel that your background
17 at Columbia was the determining factor in the denial of a
18 commission later?

19 MR. HARRIS: I did feel so, sir, for this reason:-- I
20 talked briefly with the dean of Columbia College, Mr. Harry
21 Carman at that time, because I had given him as one of my
22 references. He is an absolutely honest man, and he would
23 never tell anything but the truth. I told him I had given
24 him as a reference, and he said, "I know that, because they
25 have been to me", he said, "But they have also been to Mr.

27

1 McKnight, the Associate Dean, and I do not think he gave a
2 favorable account of what happened here."

3 Now, as it happened, Mr. McKnight was one of those peo-
4 ple who seemed to be most bitter toward me during the period
5 that was in the turmoil at Columbia. I felt that he might
6 have given information that was unfair and biased.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: You were suspended
8 at Columbia for what reason that you can tell us? Give as
9 much detail on that as you can. It is rather a serious
10 matter. A university does not suspend a student lightly,
11 normally, if his grades are all right.

12 First let me ask you: - Your grades were satisfactory?

13 MR. HARRIS: My grades were just satisfactory, in that
14 last year, sir. I had been a honor student in my earlier
15 years, but my extra-curricular activities hurt my academic
16 work.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, let me ask you this: - Was it because
18 of your extra-curricular activities that you were suspended?

19 MR. HARRIS: My work specifically as editor of the
20 Columbia Daily Spectator, and that only.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: Will you tell us as best you can just
22 why you were suspended?

23 MR. HARRIS: I will, sir. First, I will try to para-
24 phrase the official announcement, which you may not have had
25 access to. The Deal of Columbia College, in suspending me,

1 said that "An article appearing today, or yesterday, in the
2 Columbia Spectator concerning the student dining halls, is
3 the climax of a long series of innuendoes and unfortunate
4 statements that have appeared in the columns of the Columbia
5 Spectator over the past few months, and calls for disciplinary
6 action.

7 "I am therefore suspending the editor, Reed Harris this
8 date."

9 The history was this: - The Columbia Spectator had
10 been a fairly typical student newspaper, which confined its
11 news to the Campus, which took no very strong editorial posi-
12 tion on anything except the things that college fellows always
13 do, to support their University in some respects, either the
14 athletic teams or something else, and 1932, '31 and 1932
15 was a period of great ferment. People were excited. People
16 were worried about the depression situation. There was great
17 excitement and great turmoil in the papers and the publica-
18 tions and in the things we were hearing in our classes, and
19 therefore, the Editorial Board, of which I was really chair-
20 man -- that is what that Editor in Chief job is -- determined
21 that we should pursue a policy more like a regular Metropoli-
22 tan newspaper; that we should consider ourselves champions
23 of our public; "our public" being the students of the Uni-
24 versity.

25 Now, I can confess at this time that that looks a little

1 brave and foolish, right now, but we felt we were sort of
2 knights of white horses, supporting the students of Columbia
3 University in situations that needed it, and that also we
4 were there partly to make them aware of what went on in the
5 outside world. We did a lot of different things. In one
6 case we found ourselves tangling with my former colleagues
7 of the football squad, because we talked about the situation
8 of subsidy of football players in the various universities,
9 including Columbia. That aroused a tremendous furor, got
10 itself quoted in the newspapers, and I think that some of us,
11 included in which was myself, were a little bit blinded by
12 those headlines in the Metropolitan press.

13 But, in any event, we went ahead. We did things like
14 conducting a quiz of the Professors, a quiz that had run in
15 Harper's Magazine, and had been used to prove that students
16 didn't know very much, and we tried it on the Professors,
17 and found that the Professors couldn't pass it either. And
18 we publicized the results.

19 That wasn't a popular thing to do. Nicholas Murray
20 Butler was then the President of Columbia University, and
21 he made some statesmanlike speeches for the public, but on
22 one occasion we had an observer at a meeting, a political
23 meeting in the neighborhood, at which Mr. Butler made state-
24 ments of a practical political nature that didn't seem to
25 gibe with what he had said publicly, and we ran in parallel

30

1 columns what he had said in the political meeting and what
2 he had said in the public prints. They didn't match very
3 well, and that was regarded pretty badly.

4 We thought we were being very brave people who were
5 showing the University the way its president of that time
6 was behaving, but it was a discourteous thing to do. It
7 was pretty nasty.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: Did your writings
9 in the school paper reflect pretty much the same type of
10 thinking as the material in this book to which we have re-
11 ferred, "King Football"?

12 MR. HARRIS: A small part of it did, Mr. Chairman.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: I mean, you had the same attitude then
14 as you had when you wrote this book?

15 MR. HARRIS: Yes'. That attitude was prevalent in my
16 last two years at Columbia, I should say. I think it was
17 very common to the students of those days, who were trying
18 to find answers to a terrible social situation, had never
19 been educated properly in what communism really means, and
20 things of that sort. They didn't see these fine differences
21 -- we didn't.

22 But, in any event, those were typical. You, I am sure,
23 know of the types of things that appeared in there, which
24 were actually shorter and less frequent. There was one
25 editorial that was not favorable to the ROTC as I remember.

1 There was an editorial that criticised the Navy for letting
2 a blimp go over the Campus and release a lot of acid from
3 one of its motors. We made a big thing out of that.

4 But the issue on which we really finally came to this
5 showdown was that there were these Columbia dining halls,
6 and those dining halls were managed by the sister of Nicholas
7 Murray Butler, a Miss Sarah Eutler.

8 In the year before I became Editor, there had been a
9 series of articles that indicated that there was mismanage-
10 ment in the dining halls.

11 Now, the University Administration had never answered
12 those articles, had never said anything about them, had
13 never admitted or denied, or really, done anything about it.
14 So we ran a repeat of the key article of that series and said,
15 "Why is it that the Administration has never acknowledged
16 this, has never said whether or not this article was true?"
17 And we quoted it.

18 It was that article, sir, referring to the sister of the
19 President of the University, that caused the actual blow-up.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: were you ever asked
21 by anyone to join the Communist Party?

22 MR. HARRIS: No. I can't imagine any -- No, not asked
23 to join the Communist Party.

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24 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, are you sure of this:
25 You were never solicited by anyone to join the Party?

1 MR.HARRIS: Unless the solicitation is involved in so me
2 of these men at the University saying "You ought to be closer
3 to us. You ought to get in with us."

4 THE CHAIRMAN: Did anyone that you considered a Communist
5 suggest that you join with them, or get closer to them?

6 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Donald Henderson asked me one day why
7 I did not come in more closely with them, and I said I was
8 doubtful of the way they operated.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: You knew that there was a Communist
10 Group or Communist Cell at Columbia?

11 MR. HARRIS: I did not know those things, sir; I knew
12 that there was a Social Problems Club. I knew that these
13 people were in it. And I was aware that some of the things
14 that they were doing seemed favorable to some of the causes
15 which were popular with many of us.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: Did you know that
17 there were Communist students at Columbia at the time you
18 were there? And did you know who any of them were?

19 MR. HARRIS: I recognize that this sounds like in-
20 credible naiveté, but I did not know they were actual Com-
21 munist Party members on the Campus of Columbia University.

22 SENATOR JACKSON: I have to leave, Mr. Chairman. I
23 want to ask one question.

24 You mentioned, Mr. Harris, about the anti-Communist
25 positions that you have taken. Do you have any information

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1 that you could supply the committee along that line? I mean,
2 did you join any groups that -- well, for instance, the
3 Committee to Aid the Allies, or something? I am just think-
4 ing of groups that are contrary to the Communist position.

5 MR. HARRIS: Since I have been in --

6 SENATOR JACKSON: Other than a state of mind, you under-
7 stand; other than your own state of mind.

8 SENATOR POTTER: Or any public writings?

9 SENATOR JACKSON: Yes; that the committee can look at.

10 SENATOR POTTER: You have here, I notice, in your book,
11 some mention which is favorable writing to the Soviet Union.
12 I am just wondering since that time if there have been any
13 anti-Communist writings?

14 MR. HARRIS: Throughout the time I have been in the
15 Government, I have been in the type of work and under the type
16 of rules which permitted very little, if any, outside writing.
17 I have done no writing on any side of the fence during that
18 period, unless you count the small period when I was out of
19 the Government and worked on a Guide Book. I have just
20 not been in the writing business.

21 SENATOR POTTER: The thing that is strange to me is the
22 fact that you were quite strong and firm and positive in
23 your position in 1932. And you stated that you realized that
24 your position was probably unfounded, and you took a different
25 turn.

1 MR. HARRIS: That is right, Senator.

2 SENATOR POTTER: Now, the average person, when he takes
3 a different turn, knowing his past utterances, would do every-
4 thing possible to make sure that he counteracted it with posi-
5 tive statements to the contrary. He would say "Here, in 1937
6 or '36 or whatever it might be, I realized that I was going
7 up a blind alley, so I did this." Because it is an easy
8 thing to say that what we are talking about now took place
9 many years ago, but to come today and say "I was foolish
10 then, and I changed my mind soon afterwards", unless there
11 has been some demonstration beyond what you have given us
12 here to convince us there has been a great change --

13 SENATOR JACKSON. In other words, if I might supplement
14 what you are saying: Assuming that what you did back in 1932
15 were youthful indiscretions, you said a lot of things, and I
16 suppose that happens to everyone in life when they are young.
17 Assuming this book to be that result, of youthful indiscre-
18 tion, what have you done since then that the committee could
19 properly evaluate, that would be to the opposite of this?
20 That is what I am getting at. I think the committee wants
21 to be fair, Mr. Harris. You cannot examine a man's state
22 of mind. You cannot ascertain his state of mind unless you
23 know what he did objectively and what he reported, what he
24 said, what groups he might have belonged to. That is what
25 we need here for this record, because of what you have written

1 in 1932. I have the same thing in mind that Mr. Potter has.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: And keep in mind that not a single
3 Senator here, so far as I know, has ever seen you before today.

4 MP. HARRIS: I recognize that.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: So there is no ill-feeling against you.
6 We are searching for the key, however, to the extreme either
7 mismanagement or deliberate sabotage of the Voice Program,
8 and we have been trying to find that, trying very hard to
9 find it.

10 SENATOR JACKSON: I may say I was in the University
11 during this same period, and I know some of the things that
12 were going on on the Campus. But certainly you ought to be
13 able to come up with some positions you have taken that
14 would indicate a positive stand that is contrary to what
15 the Communist position was.

16 Now, I think if you were sitting in our position you
17 would ask for that.

18 SENATOR POTTER: And particularly as we found in the
19 hearings that we already have had, that, to be extremely
20 generous, the policies in the Voice have been extremely naive
21 in their approach toward the Communist problem, and combined
22 with the past history of yourself, and the fact that we have
23 a Voice Program that has not been strong in its anti-Communist
24 position in many aspects, we are searching to find out,
25 as the chairman said, where the kernel is. What has happened?

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1 So, that is the reason. We are not after anyone. We
2 are just trying to find out what has happened to an agency
3 of Government that has cost the American taxpayers a lot of
4 money and should be one of the foremost instruments to combat
5 this international communism which we are in a struggle with
6 today.

7 MR. HARRIS: Senators, you are being, I think, ex-
8 tremely fair to me, and I think that anybody who sabotaged the
9 Voice of America should be pilloried before the public and
10 punished in any way that is available to the Government of
11 the United States.

12 I will say, on this question of what I can show: I have
13 been a Government worker ever since 1934. I have not been in
14 public life in the sense of making public speeches, and so
15 forth, with the sole exception of working for the Affiliated
16 Young Democrats of New York, where I was active during the
17 period of the Office of Government Reports job. In other
18 words, while I was stationed in New York, I was very active
19 in that organization.

20 MF. COHN: Is that the Moscovitz outfit?

21 MF. HARRIS: That is Harold Moscovitz's organization,
22 yes, sir. It was constantly fighting for the policies of the
23 Government and against the Communists, or anyone else who
24 stood in the way of the policies of the Government.

25 SENATOR JACKSON: Did you ever belong to the United

1 Public Workers, that was in the CIO?

2 MR. HARRIS: I was a member of the AfofL. The AFGE.

3 SENATOR JACKSON: The American Federation of Government
4 Employees?

5 MR. HARRIS: That is right; the American Federation of
6 Government Employees, the WPA unit of that thing. It seems
7 to me that that local decided to resign from the AFGE and
8 reconstitute itself into a local of the United Federal Workers.

9 SENATOR JACKSON: Did you have any ideological problems
10 within that organization?

11 MR. HARRIS: We certainly did. I was not a tremendously
12 active member.

13 SENATOR JACKSON: The Commies were tryinf to capture
14 it, were they?

15 MR. HARRIS: They certainly were trying to capture it.

16 SENATOR JACKSON: And did you take a stand in the meet-
17 ings?

18 MR. HARRIS: I stood up in the meetings. Well, it is
19 taking a stand, yes. Forgive me. I took a stand.

20 SENATOR JACKSON: Did you take a stand for the white
21 Faction against the Red Faction?

22 MR. HARRIS: That is correct, so far as I could identify
23 the Red Faction.

24 SENATOR JACKSON: Can you give the names of any who
25 can corroborate you in that position?

1 MR. HARRIS: It is possible that Mr. Jacob Baker could.
2 Mr. Jacob Baker is now attached to an organization called
3 Econometrics. It is an economic analysis group in New York,
4 private service. He was, for about a few months, the actual
5 head. After it moved over, he became the actual head of
6 that thing for a short time, after it moved into the CIO.

7 SENATOR JACKSON: It moved over into the CIO?

8 MR. HARRIS: That is right, sir.

9 SENATOR JACKSON: Did you belong to the CIO, UPWA, for
10 a period of time?

11 MR. HARRIS: If I did, it would not be for more than a
12 month or so, because Mr. Baker, like others, saw the Communists
13 were coming into this thing and getting control of it, and re-
14 signed in a great huff. But may I say, quickly, Senators --

15 MR. COHN: Did you belong to it?

16 MR. HARRIS: I am not aware that I belonged to it. I
17 belonged to the AFGE Local.

18 SENATOR POTTER: It would be very helpful if we had; and
19 I do not think we have had, Mr. Counsel, an employment
20 sketch. After you left the University, did you immediately
21 come to work for the Government?

22 MR. HARRIS: I did not. I worked as a free lance writer.

23 SENATOR POTTER: And when did you start working with
24 the Government?

25 MR. HARRIS: November 11th, 1934, sir.

1 SENATOR POTTER: How did you happen to gain that em-
2 ployment?

3 MR. HARRIS: I gained that employment largely through
4 Mr. Jacob Baker, that I just mentioned. He was an Assistant
5 Administrator of what was called the Federal Emergency Relief
6 Administration at that time.

7 SENATOR POTTER: In other words, FEERA?

8 MR. HARRIS: That is right, sir.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask a question: Did you help
10 Jacob Baker write the book Government Benefits?

11 MR. HARRIS: I did.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: That was in 1936?

13 MR. HARRIS: My contribution consisted of research only.
14 I furnished material from the Library of Congress for that
15 book.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, you cannot be held ac-
17 countable for the language in the book?

18 MR. HARRIS: No, sir.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: You did not do the writing? You did the
20 research; he did the writing?

21 MR. HARRIS: The research is evident. There is a list
22 of tariff items, and things of that sort on one page cited
23 as examples. That was done as an official duty, because at
24 that period of time the FEERA was in process of going out of
25 existence and WPA was coming in.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: But in any event, your testimony is that
2 you did not do the writing?

3 MR. HARRIS: I did not do anything but the research. I
4 could be listed as a "cold ghost" in a case of that kind, I
5 suppose.

6 SENATOR POTTER: When did you leave WPA?

7 MR. HARRIS: I left WPA in 1938, when I had this differ-
8 ence of opinion with the top command of the --

9 SENATOR POTTER: All right. Where did you go from there?

10 MR. HARRIS: I went to Robbins Travel House as Travel
11 Book Editor.

12 SENATOR POTTER: You left the Government at that time?

13 MR. HARRIS: I did.

14 SENATOR POTTER: Then when did you come back in Government
15 service?

16 MR. HARRIS: In January of 1939, I believe, sir.

17 SENATOR POTTER: And what did you come back as?

18 MR. HARRIS: As the Administrative Officer for the
19 National Emergency Council. That was a predecessor of the
20 Office of Government Reports.

21 SENATOR POTTER: How long did you work there.

22 MR. HARRIS: I stayed right through, as it became Govern-
23 ment reports. That went out of existence approximately at
24 the end of 1941 or the early part of 1942, and merged into the
25 OWI, so I had continuous employment.

1 SENATOR POTTER: And who solicited you into Government
2 at that time? How did you happen to come back in?

3 MR. HARRIS: I am trying to remember who the first
4 contact was. I think it was Mr. Thomas Corcoran.

5 SENATOR POTTER: Tommy Corcoran?

6 MR. HARRIS: That is right -- at least, he interviewed
7 me, Senator.

8 SENATOR POTTER: And then, from there where did you go?

9 MR. HARRIS: To the Office of War Information.

10 SENATOR POTTER: And you were with War Information --

11 MR. HARRIS: Until 1944, when I volunteered for service
12 in the Air Force. I was in the Air Force until November
13 of 1945.

14 SENATOR POTTER: You were in the Air Force?

15 MR. HARRIS: I was, sir.

16 SENATOR POTTER: For about a year?

17 MR. HARRIS: For a year and a half, sir.

18 SENATOR POTTER: A year and a half. And then when you
19 were separated from the service, from the Air Force, where did
20 you go?

21 MR. HARRIS: I came back to the Government.

22 SENATOR POTTER: And whom did you contact back in the
23 Government?

24 MR. HARRIS: I came back to the nucleus, the remaining
25 nucleus, of OWI, which was in the process of transfer to

1 the Department of State.

2 MR. COHN: I missed this. Tommy Corcoran got you what
3 job?

4 MR. HARRIS: Tommy Corcoran interviewed me for the job
5 in the National Emergency Council, which later became the
6 OGP.

7 SENATOR JACKSON: Would you go through your files and
8 supply the committee with any memoranda that you might have
9 on policy matters during the time you have been in Government,
10 relating to the Communist problem, whether it be on handling
11 personnel, or on the problem of over-all foreign policy,
12 Voice policy, or whatever you might have had jurisdiction of?
13 You understand the problem of this committee?

14 MR. HARRIS: I certainly do, Senator.

15 SENATOR JACKSON: We are confronted with a book, on the
16 one hand, and I might say, just speaking for myself, that
17 I think I could forgive you for the indiscretions of this
18 period, if you have something to counteract the position
19 you took back in 1932 in the depths of the Depression. You
20 can understand the problem of this committee, faced with
21 this kind of a document. Is that not a fair approach?

22 MR. HARRIS: That is fair, Senator, but the only thing
23 that is wrong with it is that if it calls for sort of public
24 positions, I am at a disadvantage, because I wasn't doing
25 anything that was public.

1 SENATOR JACKSON: Did you ever write any letters to
2 the editors of the papers?

3 MR. HARRIS: That is prohibited at the State Department.

4 SENATOR JACKSON: No, no. Let me bring you back to
5 August of 1939. Did you write any letters? Did you take
6 any stand about the Nazi-Russian Pact? And what was your
7 position from August of 1939 to June 20 of 1941, or around
8 June 20th, when Germany invaded Russia? And what was your
9 position with reference to foreign policy, neutrality, all
10 during that period? And then, what was your position after
11 the invasion?

12 MR. HARRIS: I will do my utmost, Senator, to supply
13 what you have in mind. I understand that you are being
14 very helpful in bringing out the truth in this thing.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: You see, here is the thing that occurs
16 to us in certain circles.

17 Assume for the time being that you, over the past ten
18 or fifteen years, we will say, have been a completely loyal
19 American. Assume that you have been devoted to the fight
20 against communism. Assume that you hate communism tremen-
21 dously. You love America. Let us just assume all that to
22 be true for the time being.

23 The thing that occurs to the average mind, I think, is
24 this: They find the head of the State Department looking
25 for a top man for the Voice to head the fight against com-

1 munism. They check your record and find a book which
2 you wrote in '32 which would appear to be strictly down the
3 Communist Party line. They find that you were listed as a
4 co-editor with two or three or four other men who were known
5 Communists, in 1938.

6 MR. HARRIS: They were then known?

7 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me finish.

8 And they find you are listed in '37 on the sponsoring
9 group that is to form a Communist-front organization.

10 They find nothing in your record to show that at a
11 certain time you repudiated all of this. And the average
12 man says, "Well, assume that Harris is a good, loyal American
13 and assume that he is anti-Communist. Why in heaven's name
14 did they get a man who has such a questionable background
15 and has done nothing in any particular period of his life to
16 repudiate this what may well have been youthful indiscretion?"

17 I am not saying this critically of you. I am talking
18 now about selecting you for the job. You see, it would almost
19 seem like Dean Acheson selecting me to write his memoirs,
20 if you follow me.

21 Now, I do not think we can continue on here all evening.
22 At this stage of the proceedings, we have the testimony of Mr.
23 Harris to the effect that he has been anti-Communist over the
24 past years. We have other testimony in the record which is
25 of a very disturbing nature. I think that we should do nothing

1 at all of a public nature on this, at least until we have
2 examined the personnel and security files of Mr. Harris.
3 My thought is that to the press, who are waiting for a
4 statement, I will merely say we are going into the Voice
5 of America and we have nothing we can tell them at this
6 time.

7 SENATOR POTTER: I think, Mr. Chairman, as a result of
8 the testimony today, which actually does not give us much
9 information, we should have a chance to go over it a little
10 more thoroughly, and we could have Mr. Harris back to meet
11 with us in Executive Session.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, yes, we are not through at all. I
13 would like to go into this Hebrew Desk deal. Let us spend
14 a little time on that yet tonight. I am very interested in
15 that.

16 MR. HARRIS: Forgive me, Mr. Chairman. Would it be in
17 order for me to answer the question placed by the Senator
18 before he leaves? He asked a question I don't think I have
19 had enough to say about. I don't think it will take more
20 than a moment.

21 SENATOR POTTER: To finish your employment?

22 MF. HARRIS: The question was on actions that have
23 repudiated my earlier position, as you have interpreted it
24 from my book here.

25 SENATOR JACKSON: Either in the form of a document, ar-

1 ticles or individuals that you can bring in; I mean, reputable
2 individuals that have some standing.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: Are you asking him to answer that now?

4 SENATOR JACKSON: No, he does not have to answer now.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Or are you suggesting that he supply
6 information along that line.

7 SENATOR JACKSON: Yes, supply the names of reputable
8 people. There may have been a project where you had a fight
9 within the union, where the Commies were trying to take over.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: I have the impression
11 from looking at excerpts from the book -- and I believe the
12 other Senators have gotten the same impression, that if you
13 had been a Communist at that time, that is the type of book
14 you would have written. Would you agree that that is sub-
15 stantially correct, or is that stating it too strongly, do
16 you think?

17 MR. HARRIS: Senator, I would say that that is much too
18 strong. I think that ninety per cent of that book would be
19 written by any sensational writer on sports matters and the
20 conditions of the times, college conditions, and written in
21 something like three weeks, day and night, to meet a contract,
22 in order that I might live. It was very poorly done and very
23 badly done.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: I do not want to keep beating this horse.
25 You have admitted that you wrote it, and you have repudiated

1 it, and said it was the result of youthful indiscretion,
2 because of the times. And at that time you were going through
3 a depression, and conditions were a lot different than now.
4 But you see, in this book you find, number 1, that you con-
5 demn the colleges for dismissal Communist teachers. You
6 refer to a sadistic butcher who is now probably the Commander
7 of the American Legion. That was the Communist Party line
8 at the time.

9 You tell about your good friends, Professors, who were
10 Communists, one at Princeton, one at Columbia. You ridicule
11 the religious groups, or maybe I should not use the word
12 "ridicule", but you say "The colleges supported wholly by
13 Protestant Sects, lead the way in creating the worst at-
14 mosphere of University fear in America. State Colleges
15 follow close behind. The Catholic Institutions must be
16 placed next."

17 All of this would seem to me to be strictly the Com-
18 munist line. I am not talking about the other ninety per
19 cent of the book, but I assume that you would agree with me
20 that most any Senator glancing at this, or anyone who knows
21 something about the Communist movement would say "That is the
22 Communist line", would you not?

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23 MR. HARRIS: These selected excerpts, Senator would,
24 at least some of them, appear to be the same position taken
25 by extreme Left Wing people at that time, yes.

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1 THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to get down to this other
2 question of this Hebrew Desk.

3 Now, at the time the Communists became publicly anti-
4 Semetic, when they started to execute the Jewish leaders,
5 apparently because their crime was being Jewish, it would
6 seem that would afforded us a tremendous propaganda weapon,
7 especially in view of the fact that your Jewish people, many
8 of them, are self-professed Liberals, many of those Liberals
9 in charge of newspapers, means of communication, throughout
10 the world. In other words, your Jewish race has a fairly
11 heavy intrest in lines of communication. Can we say that
12 safely?

13 Many of those are conservative, of course, but a sizable
14 number are liberal, extremely liberal.

15 Now, I have always understood the totalitarians must be
16 anti-Semetic. They cannot countenance a group such as the
17 Jewish people. It thwarts their efforts. They cannot coun-
18 tenance any other strongly religious group, the Catholics,
19 or any Protestant sect.

20 MR. HARRIS: That is right.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: When they became publicly anti-Semetic,
22 do you not think that gave us the most tremendous propaganda
23 weapon that has ever been handed to us?

24 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I think it did give us a big
25 propaganda weapon, and I think we have used it very effect-

1 ively.

2 The decision that you are talking about, to discontinue
3 the Hebrew language -- not all the broadcasts to Israel, but
4 those in the Hebrew language--was taken by a Board, long
5 before December 5th. It was taken on a budgetary basis,
6 on the basis of those broadcasts that seemed least effective
7 in reaching their targets and getting results.

8 That decision was made after consulting the Near East
9 Bureau of the Department. It was not made by me; it was
10 made by a Board, by the Program Allocations Board.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Who headed that Board?

12 MR. HARRIS: I think Mr. Compton, Dr. Compton, was
13 sitting as Chairmen at that time.

14 MR. COHN: The papers indicate you were.

15 MR. HARRIS: As the Chairman at that time? Well, it
16 certainly was discussed in a meeting which included Dr.
17 Compton, Mr. Kohler, Mr. Puhon.

18 MR. COHN: Mr. Bradley Connors?

19 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Bradley Connors.

20 MR. COHN: Mr. Arthur Kimball?

21 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Kimball. And Mr. William C. Johnstone,
22 the Deputy for Field Operations.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: And did you favor the discontinuance of
24 the Hebrew Desk at that time?

25 MR. HARRIS: On the facts presented to me, which I couldn't

1 evaluate. They were presented to me as indicating that
2 that was not an effective program, that it was one of the
3 least effective.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: Well, let us assume that it was not an
5 effective program before you had this propaganda weapon,
6 before the Communists became openly anti-Semitic and vigorous-
7 ly anti-Semitic. Perhaps that might not have been an ef-
8 fective desk. They might not have had the material. But
9 do you not think it was a tremendous mistake to attempt to
10 discontinue it when they were handed that great propaganda
11 weapon?

12 MR. HARRIS: If Hebrew will reach a lot of listeners on
13 that. But the fact is that we keep getting reports that
14 there are relatively few people who understand the regular
15 Hebrew within our listening range, and all the people who
16 do, understand other languages better. Because it is true
17 that Hebrew is the common language of Israel, but the people
18 who were in there came from Germany and the United States and
19 other parts of the world, and the language that is native to
20 them, that is normal to them, is the other language they are
21 hearing. That is the way Mr. Fohler explained it to me.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you get those reports in writing?

23 MR. HARRIS: Yes; we get those reports in writing. They
24 would show up in the evaluation reports.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: Will you supply us with those reports?

1 MR. HARRIS: I will do what I can, sir.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: You must have had those reports before you
3 made this decision, I assume.

4 MR. HARRIS: The Board had them summarized by Mr. Kohler
5 and Mr. Puhon.

6 MR. COHN: That is a long time before all of this
7 happened, is it not?

8 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Kohler and Mr. Puhon participated in
9 the Program Allocations Board Meeting in which it was de-
10 cided to discontinue Hebrew. The decision was to make that
11 change immediately after the National Elections, in order
12 to avoid domestic complications.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. As Step Number 13 in a program
14 involving 15 steps.

15 MR. HARRIS: They submitted in writing a list of 13
16 steps, it is true.

17 THE CHAIRMAN. 15.

18 MR. HARRIS: Well, a number. Forgive me for the lack
19 of -- I remember a series of recommendations by the Voice.
20 The Board as a whole did not agree with that order of priority
21 of those steps, because some of them were obviously impos-
22 sibilities to do. They chose from that several items that
23 needed to be done to save money.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: The Board selected fifteen actions to
25 be taken. They listed them in order of priority -- right?

1 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt, only to try
2 to correct this understanding?

3 The Program Allocations Board, which is an over-all IIA
4 Board, was under the necessity of cutting the operating budget
5 in order to meet the needs for what is called the administra-
6 tive support, money paid to the rest of the State Department
7 to supply services.

8 In order to do that, we called upon divisions to give us
9 recommendations on things that they could reduce without
10 harming the effectiveness of their operations. Mr. Kohler,
11 as I remember it, submitted a list of some several points.
12 The Council says there were fifteen points.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: I have fifteen listed.

14 MR. HARRIS: Those were the ones, then?

15 THE CHAIRMAN: And the date, December 10; right?

16 MR. HARRIS: Not the list that I saw, sir. That was long
17 before that -- it was before the National Elections.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon.

19 SENATOR MUNDT: Were you a member of that Board, Mr.
20 Harris?

21 MR. HARRIS: I am. I am the Vice Chairman. I got in the
22 absence of Dr. Compton.

23 SENATOR MUNDT: How many members are on that Board?

24 MR. HARRIS: I know it must sound -- but the fact is
25 that I get so many questions today it is hard to keep up.

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1 There were Compton -- there was no Voice Member on that Board.
2 and they only appear, as, in effect, witnesses.

3 MR. COHN: Eradley Connors?

4 MR. HARRIS: I say Johnston, Connors, Kimball, Compton,
5 myself, Mr. Gedalecia, the evaluation man, the Director of
6 Evaluation. That has since been augmented by Deputy Director
7 Morton, but at that time there was no Voice Member.

8 SENATOR BUNNET: That is six or seven. Do you recall
9 whether or not that was a decision arrived at unanimously,
10 or a split decision?

11 MR. HARRIS: It was unanimous, as far as the members of
12 the Board were concerned. It seems to me that Mr. Puhon and
13 Mr. Pohler and I believe Mr. Francis was there too -- that
14 they all said that any of these actions actually would be
15 merely quibbling, to the Voice. They did not differentiate.
16 They didn't pick out the Hebrew thing as something special
17 to be done, but they did say they didn't want to see the Board
18 cut out any of those, but, they said, if we had to, this was
19 the order in which it should be done, and we didn't follow
20 that order; we didn't feel that was the case.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: The Board was an Advisory Board?

22 MR. HARRIS: The Program Allocations Board, sir was not
23 advisory, except in the sense --

24 THE CHAIRMAN: It is set up by the head of the Depart-
25 ment, is it not? It is not set up by law?

1 MR. HARRIS: No, not by law. It is an administrative
2 board.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: So you set up this Board to advise you?
4 And then Dr. Compton, or when you were head of the IIA, you
5 yourself, can follow the recommendations, if you care to.
6 You are not bound by them, are you?

7 MR. HARRIS: The Board has authority to act unless we
8 overrule them. I guess that would be a more accurate state-
9 ment.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: They act by putting into effect what you
11 have recommended; is that correct?

12 MR. HARRIS: Yes, they submit their recommendation in
13 the form of an implementing document, and normally, we sign
14 it without question.

15 THE CHAIRMAN: So that no action can be taken until
16 you, as Acting Director or Compton as Director, sign it?

17 MR. HARRIS: That is right; not until an Executive signs
18 it.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, who picked out the Hebrew Language
20 Desk for elimination?

21 MR. HARRIS: At that meeting, the first reference to it
22 was made by Mr. Johnstone.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Johnstone. Is that the same man
24 who was involved in the Amerasia case?

25 MR. S'URINE: That is correct. And the IPR, too.

1 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Connors and Mr. Geca-
2 lecia, were the people. They spoke up almost simultaneously ,
3 because they are the people who had the knowledge. Mr. John-
4 stone had what they call Regional knowledge. Mr. Connors
5 was an expert on the policy implicatio s, and Mr. Dealecia
6 knew what the real effects of these things were, because he
7 gets the evaluation reports.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Connors, you say, was an expert on
9 policy. I am trying to recall his testimony the other day.
10 And what do we know about this third man?

11 MR. COHN: I don't know about that, Mr. Chairman. I
12 will have to check on that.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this, Mr. Harris. Maybe
14 hindsight is better than foresight. Sometimes the committee
15 here, sitting and examining what you did two or three months
16 ago is in a fairly easy position to criticise at times. But
17 looking at this now by way of hindsight, seeing the tremendous
18 amount of anti-Semetic activities of the Soviet Union, and
19 keeping in mind that your Jewish people found in almost
20 every nation on earth, and a fairly powerful force, do you
21 not think that -- or let us put it this way: If I were a
22 member of the Communist Party, and I wanted to protect the
23 Communists -- if this is unfair, tell me -- if I were a
24 member of the Communist Party and I wanted to protect the
25 International Communist Movement as much as possible from the

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1 results of this anti-semetic program they have taken on,
2 would I not do the same thing that Connors and these other
3 two men did here, namely, recommend the elimination of the
4 Hebrew Language Desk at that time?

5 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I think they would recommend
6 the cutting down of the use of that subject matter. The
7 particular language is a matter of how you reach a group
8 most effectively. It has nothing to do with the contents.
9 You can look at all the directives -- I mean, you can be
10 sure that we have used that anti-Semetic angle over and over
11 again, and I say that this Hebrew thing was beamed at the
12 country of Israel; that it was not getting in as effectively
13 as a signal should; that we had determined from Mr. Gedalecia,
14 whom I think it is proper to mention at this point is of
15 Jewish extraction and interested in the Jewish people --

16 MR. COHN: Where did he come from, Mr. Harris?

17 MR. HARRIS: He was with the American Broadcasting
18 system as their evaluation officer.

19 MR. COHN: Up in New York?

20 MR. HARRIS: I would have been New York, yes, sir.

21 MR. COHN: What Jewish connections did he have, do you
22 know?

23 MR. HARRIS: I believe he was active in the over-all
24 organization, which is not only Jewish, but -- the Conference
25 of Christians and Jews they call it, I think -- and some

1 organization sending materials out to Israel. He has told
2 us that he has been active in those fields. I think he has
3 been the publicity man for them.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: There is a strong
5 Communist element in Israel; is that correct?

6 MR. HARRIS: I have certainly read that there are a lot
7 of Communists in Israel; that is right.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, what percentage of the people in
9 Israel understand the Hebrew language? Would you know?

10 MR. HARRIS: My understanding, again, as presented to me
11 by primarily Mr. Kohler and Mr. Puhon at that meeting - I know
12 very little about Israel - that was partly educational to me,
13 that meeting was - and as confirmed by Mr. Gedalecia, either
14 then or later, Hebrew is commonly spoken by a considerable
15 part of the population as the only language common to a num-
16 ber of groups. They do not merely speak it very well, it
17 is like some of us in the State Department knowing French
18 in order to be able to talk to Diplomats. It is not their
19 native language, what they speak or talk in.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: It is the official language?

21 MR. HARRIS: That is right; it is.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, some are German Jews,
23 some French Jews, and so on?

24 MR. HARRIS: That is correct.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: And their native language may be German,

1 French, Chinese, almost any other language.

2 MR. HARRIS: We have big powerful programs, going out
3 in these other languages.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: No, let me finish.

5 But the language which is common to them is Hebrew?

6 MR. HARRIS: I have had that statement made to me, and
7 furthermore I have been told they very often use English in
8 their own proceedings. I wish you would look it up, Mr. Cohn.

9 MR. COHN: I don't have to look it up. I have been
10 there.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask counsel. You have been over
12 in Israel, have you not? Is there any doubt about the fact
13 that the Hebrew language is the language that is generally
14 understood?

15 MR. COHN: It is generally understood, generally spoken,
16 and it is the official language.

17 MR. HARRIS: May I ask a question of the counsel in this
18 connection? I know it is out of order, but is he referring
19 to Yiddish or Hebrew?

20 MR. COHN: Referring to Hebrew.

21 MR. HARRIS: Because there is a great difference. I
22 understand that Yiddish is quite common there, but Hebrew is
23 not.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: One of the reasons for the cancellation
25 was that the signal was not getting through very well?

1 MR. HARRIS: That is what they told us.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Is it not correct that you got a memo-
3 randum after you ordered that the Hebrew language desk be
4 discontinued, a memorandum informing you that the Courier
5 Project had taken care of that situation and that the signal
6 how is arriving in the target area in a satisfactory manner?

7 MR. HARRIS: We got such a memorandum, and in the meet-
8 ing of the Program Allocations Board which followed that,
9 we authorized Mr. Morton to continue the Hebrew language
10 until further notice, and the order has never been put into
11 effect.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: You say "we" did. Is it not correct that
13 Mr. Morton or somebody in New York got hold of Mr. Compton,
14 who was out of the country, and Dr. Morton said to suspend your
15 order until he returned?

16 MR. HARRIS: I am not aware of that sequence of events,
17 but I do know it was discussed at a meeting of the Program
18 Allocations Board, after Dr. Compton got back, and that we
19 told Dr. Morton specifically that we would not ask him to
20 carry out any of the recommendations made at that previous
21 meeting, not only as to Hebrew, but the question of suspending
22 the program booklet.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Let us get the sequence of events. You
24 send an order over saying "Discontinue the Hebrew Desk."
25 The New York Voice refused to do that. Then you went to New

1 York personally and handed the order to Mr. Francis. Is
2 that correct?

3 MR. HARRIS: Are you saying that I went to New York
4 personally and handed an order to Mr. Francis?

5 THE CHAIRMAN: It is in the form of a question.

6 MR. HARRIS: Of course not. I don't make a business of
7 going to New York to hand orders to anybody.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: You are sure of that?

9 MR. HARRIS: Well, I certainly don't do it in New York.
10 If I handed it to him in Washington, it was simply because
11 he happened to be in my office at the time the order was
12 signed.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Then you say that you subsequently author-
14 ized him not to put this order into effect?

15 MR. HARRIS: That is correct. The action of the PAB was
16 at that time that any orders growing out of the earlier meeting
17 are suspended until further notice. They still are.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Who took the initiative on that? Did you?

19 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Morton took the initiative. He first
20 brought it up, I think, to Dr. Compton, but the actual action
21 was taken at a meeting of the Program Allocations Board.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask you this: Is it correct that
23 when you handed this order to Mr. Francis, after you handed
24 it to Mr. Francis, Mr. Morton, or someone in the New York
25 Office got in touch with Dr. Compton --

1 MR. COHN: Mr. Morton was over in Europe with Dr.
2 Compton, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Puhon and Mr. Thompson and Mr.
3 Francis reached Dr. Morton in Europe, and then they reached
4 Dr. Compton, and Mr. Morton and Dr. Compton told them that
5 they did not have to follow that order.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Is that correct, Mr. Harris?

7 MR. HARRIS: I just don't know those facts. If you
8 have had testimony to that effect, then that is correct.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Is that not the way it came about? This
10 was a subject of considerable controversy. You should recall
11 whether it was Dr. Compton who authorized your order to be
12 suspended, or not, or whether you changed your mind, or
13 whether the Board made a change.

14 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, you are trying to put the
15 question of me interfering in policy here. That is not my
16 business, or, no, that is not correct that it is not my busi-
17 ness, but I am not a policy person here. I got recommendations
18 from my Allocations Board. It was specifically stated that
19 after the domestic elections were over, the Voice was to sus-
20 pend Hebrew, suspend a program book and a couple of other
21 things of that sort, in order to save money.

22 MR. COHN: All right. Now, let's see. The Slansky
23 thing, the anti-Semitic purges began. Intervening between the
24 time that decision was made and the time you pressed for the
25 suspension of this Hebrew language service, a memorandum came

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1 up from New York saying it should be suspended, which was
2 right in the face of the break on the anti-Semitic purges.

3 MR. HARRIS: That is correct.

4 MR. COHN: A teletype was sent down to you, which I have
5 right here, under date of December 4, 1952, marked "Urgent",
6 saying, "Tel Aviv has just asked us to use VOA a full blast
7 on the recent Czech Anti-Semitism Purges.

8 "B. While Anti-Semitism Purges behind the Curtain and
9 where a tremendously important political issue has been
10 handed the Hebrew Desk, is this the time to suspend Hebrew
11 broadcasts?"

12 A reply by teletype came back the same day:

13 "Confirming our telephone conversation with regard to
14 your questions for Reed Harris:

15 "1. Hebrew. Harris will send memorandum instructing
16 suspension of Hebrew Language Broadcasts as soon as possible.
17 He states that this was clearly a PAB decision and that nothing
18 new has happened to change that decision. The cable from Tel
19 Aviv regarding Prague trials does not alter decision, par-
20 ticularly in the light of current budget situation."

21 And that was followed by a typed memorandum initialed by
22 you under date December 5, 1952, confirming this decision and
23 saying that you are aware of the public relations problem
24 which could result, but saying that the weakness of the
25 signal and the budget cuts made this essential. And on

1 December 11th a memorandum was sent down to you complaining
2 violently about this, pointing out that it was not a fact
3 that the signal was weak, that broadcasts had been getting
4 through well before, that the ratings had been good, fair,
5 and excellent, and that the situation had been further im-
6 proved by the fact that the Courier had arrived in the area,
7 and pointing out that saving was virtually non-existent,
8 that, Number 1, it wasn't a large amount to start with, and,
9 Number 2, if they followed your order, they would have to
10 bring back these families from Israel and eat up any savings.

11 MR. HARRIS: I ask your permission to talk on this,
12 because there is no other way to counteract the completely
13 false implication that is being built up here.

14 MR. COHN: I would like you to look at these.

15 MR. HARRIS: I am not questioning that there is a se-
16 quence built up here, you have developed in these hearings --
17 or you have said publicly, at least; I haven't read the tes-
18 timony -- that the Voice of America often proceeded without
19 instructions from Washington, that it seemed to be going
20 off without proper control; that there wasn't the proper
21 management control in Washington. It has been my job for
22 months to try to bring that control in, sometimes defied,
23 with the support of people higher in the organization, some-
24 times actually defied with the indirect and unintentional
25 support of the House Appropriations Committee.

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1 THE CHAIRMAN: May I interrupt? I just had my atten-
2 tion called to a 5:30 appointment I have, which is of great
3 importance. I do not intend to cut you off on this, Mr.
4 Harris.

5 Karl, do you want to take over here?

6 SENATOR MUNDT: I have to leave at a quarter to six.
7 That is seven minutes. I do not know how long he has to
8 talk on this.

9 MR. HARRIS: I will do my best to limit it to that
10 extent, if you will listen.

11 THE CHAIRMAN: And Mr. Harris has consented that his
12 files be made available to us, with the understanding, of
13 course, that the committee does not use any of the hearsay
14 material in any of those files to embarrass him. They are
15 not to be used publicly.

16 I think in view of his consent that we obtain the files,
17 the Secretary of State will most likely make his files
18 available, and that means that there will be an executive
19 session. We will obtain those files, I assume, tomorrow.

20 MR. HARRIS: Senator, Mr. Chairman, I have recited what
21 I believe to have been a considerable sense of independence
22 and disregard of Washington by the Voice of America officials
23 in New York, time and time again, particularly as regards
24 Budget matters. Time and time again we have told them to
25 cut a certain item, and we have been defied. One of the

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1 reasons that we created the Program Allocations Board was
2 to have an orderly way for the consideration by the top
3 elements, of any such budget allocation as we have to make
4 from time to time.

5 This Board had met, had recommended that the Voice be
6 ordered to make certain cuts. We were under the absolute
7 necessity of making cuts, in order to come within our rate
8 of the year. We were under extreme indirect criticism
9 by the Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee because,
10 he said, we were using money too fast.

11 My position, as the manager in Washington, was to en-
12 force orders that seemed to me to make sense in this budget
13 business and therefore, as soon as the election was over,
14 with the one caveat that it should not happen while the
15 election was on, because it would cause a public uproar
16 that would go five different ways, and we thought it was
17 not proper to do that, that the subject of Hebrew was naturally
18 an explosive one.

19 So when I found out, after the election, that they had
20 not taken these steps, I consulted Mr. Gedalecia, I believe
21 Mr. Micocci, our Special Assistant, actually checked around
22 also with Mr. Gedalecia. I believe Mr. Micocci, our Special
23 Assistant actually checked around also through Mr. Johnstone
24 to the Near East Bureau, or directly to the Near East Bureau.
25 They said, "The thing is not effective in reaching the people

of Isreal. It is just not getting there." And I thought they meant what Mr. Johler and Mr. Puhon had reported earlier that it was a matter of strength of signal entirely. Now, they apparently did not mean that, because the signal had been stepped up through this Coast Guard Cutter, the COURIER. I cannot, in my position, know each channel that is going out.

I knew that this situation had developed in Russia. I felt that they -- that we should certainly push that theme as hard as we could and tell as many people about it as possible, but it was presented to me that this Hebrew thing was not reaching people effectively, that it just wasn't a good thing to reach the target.

I was also assured, certainly by Mr. Puhon, that the other languages were reaching in there and reaching the same people, physical people, that we would cover, if we did put this in there.

If this committee could show that I softened up on the policy line on this Soviet thing, it would be one thing, but this is not. You are trying to turn a budgetary action into a Communist plot.

MR. COHN: How about the new budget for the next year? Has your office stated that there should be a fifty per cent cut in the Russian Service?

MR. HARRIS: I am sure that we have made no recommendations from my office on specific languages.

1 MR. COHN: Has your office given any instructions what-
2 soever or made any requests or submitted any proposed figure
3 on the Budget for next year?

4 MR. HARRIS: It certainly has; under the order of Mr.
5 Dodge, we are ordered to make very sharp cuts throughout our
6 organization.

7 MR. COHN: And have those included a fifty per cent cut
8 of the Russian service?

9 MR. HARRIS: I can't imagine it, because the Russian
10 service is the thing we preserve above everything.

11 MR. COHN: Would you check that for us?

12 MR. HARRIS: I would be glad to. I can't imagine that.
13 That would be fantastic, Senator.

14 MR. COHN: Is what you have heard today the first you
15 have heard of the fact that persons who were turned down
16 for security clearance when they were supposed to come from
17 Hi-Cog over to the Voice, are still employed over in Germany
18 in the State Department?

19 MR. HARRIS: That is not the first time I have heard it.
20 I heard it from Dr. Compton, in his office.

21 MR. COHN: Yes. What have you done about that?

22 MR. HARRIS: Dr. Compton "did about it." He sent over
23 a request that six persons who have still apparently not
24 been cleared, either be absolutely certified as properly to
25 be on our rolls by January 1st, or be off the rolls. And

1 it is my belief that those people are no longer attached to
2 our rolls.

3 MR. COHN: How about Mr. Schechter?

4 MR. HARRIS: I don't know Mr. Schechter, and I am not
5 sure that is one of the names, sir.

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I would have to check to see what names are on the list of six that Dr. Compton requested either the properly cleared or dismissed from our rolls by January 1st.

MR. COHN: Do ou know Donald Ogden Stewart?

MR. HARRIS: No. I have seen him as a writer. I mean, I have seen his writings many times.

MR. COHN: But you have never met him?

MR. HARRIS: No.

MR. COHN: Do you recall an occasion when, in the spring of 1951, you were preparing some schedules for submission to a congressional appropriations committee, and some issue arose between you and Mr. Thompson? You stated that you wanted to represent in the figures in the column for the certain year a certain figure as having been spent for the current year when Mr. Thompson and others at the meeting stated that it was not the true picture. Do you recall such a discussion?

MR. HARRIS: I don't recall such a discussion, not specifically. I know that often the Voice in New York disagreed with our figures and gave us figures that were one way one Tuesday and another way the next Thursday, and that that was what Dr. Compton had to fight when he came into our organization, to get reliable figures from New York.

I am not charging anything to New York, but they were certainly careless. They would give us one set of figures

1 one day, and then we would ask them the next day, and get
2 a different set of figures. That was one of the great
3 pains we had. I don't know what you are talking about.

4 MR. COHN: Do you still consider Mr. Connors as the
5 top policy man, in view of the testimony to the effect that
6 he is abysmally ignorant concerning politics, Communist
7 strategy, and so on?

8 MR. HARRIS: If he is abysmally ignorant, he should
9 not be the man. I thought the question was whether he
10 considered himself an expert.

11 MR. COHN: No, the testimony was quite specific. He
12 stated he had never read any work by Marx, Engels, Lenin,
13 or Stalin.

14 MR. HARRIS: Those things do not seem to be absolutely
15 necessary.

16 MR. COHN: Well, that is a matter of opinion. Number
17 two, he stated that he had no familiarity with Communist
18 strategy or tactics, with Communist theory. Number three,
19 in an interview with the staff he stated he had no idea
20 what the Smith Act was, what the McCarran Act was, what
21 any of the other Acts directed against communism on the
22 statute books of this country were.

23 He stated he knew nothing of the fight which resulted
24 in the expulsion of Earl Browder as leader of the Communist
25 Party of the United States in 1945. And so and so forth.

1 MR. HARRIS: I don't see why he would necessarily know
2 that, Counsel.

3 MR. COHN: You don't see why he would know that?

4 MR. HARRIS: He was out of the country.

5 MR. COHN: Well, this is the top man in policy for the
6 entire information program, the main object of which at the
7 moment, I assume, is countering Communist tactics and
8 propaganda.

9 MR. HARRIS: He used the top experts in the Depart-
10 ment who were in the Intelligence area. Every day he has
11 the statement of what they are doing and how they are doing
12 it.

13 MR. COHN: That, to me, is very implausible. He is the
14 top policy man. I would just submit that it is a very
15 weak argument to say, "Well, he doesn't know anything about
16 it, but some of the other people under him know something
17 about it." He is the one who makes policy decisions.

18 MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I think that Mr. Connors must
19 have misinterpreted the questions, or something, because
20 certainly he does know, from day to day --when a man has
21 fought communism the way he has. And every day he puts out
22 directives that are anti-Communist. He certainly learns
23 something thereby. What I think he must have felt was that
24 the committee wanted to know if he had been associated in
25 the Communist movement and thereby learned. And certainly he

hasn't.

MR. COHN: I can't go behind his motives. I can only know what he did say here.

Would you do us a favor? Would you read his testimony?

MR. HARRIS: Of course I will read his testimony.

MR. COHN: And would you ask him about his interview with the staff and his knowledge of the Communist Party in the United States, the Communist movement generally, and then see what your judgment would be as to his qualifications to hold the position he does?

MR. HARRIS: I will make that analysis and do what I can with it, sir.

MR. SURINE: You previously testified that you were asked by Henderson to join and work with his group.

MR. COHN: More closely.

MR. SURINE: More closely; something to that effect.

MR. HARRIS: To that effect. "You ought to work more closely with us."

MR. SURINE: You also testified that at the time of that conversation you did not know Henderson to be a Communist.

MR. HARRIS: I did not know him to be a member of the Communist Party. I knew he was an advocate of collectivist ideas.

MR. SURINE: You mean you considered him to be a Marxist,

1 but you didn't know whether he was paying dues to the party?

2 Is that what you mean?

3 MR. HARRIS: Yes; that is exactly what I meant. I had
4 no idea he was a member of the Communist Party, but I did know
5 that he was a Marxist in philosophy.

6 MR. SURINE: Now, looking back at it, you now realize
7 that he was asking you to join the Communist Party, do you
8 not?

9 MR. HARRIS: Well, I honestly -- I still don't know that.
10 I think he might have been asking me to join closely with
11 the Social Problems Club or some inner circle of the Social
12 Problems Club.

13 MR. SURINE: Well, in your book/^{you}described him as a
14 Communist.

15 MR. HARRIS: And I used lower case letters.

16 MR. SURINE: You testify here that you understood him
17 to be a Marxist.

18 MR. HARRIS: Yes, I did.

19 MR. SURINE: You testified that he asked you to work
20 more closely with his group.

21 MR. HARRIS: That is correct.

22 MR. SURINE: That was in response to a question as to
23 whether you had been asked to join the party.

24 MR. HARRIS: I said that the only asking that I had
25 had was that asking. And I don't know that that was any

1 asking to join the party. I am not trying to equivocate.

2 Maybe he was asking me that. But I did not know he was ask-
3 ing me to do that, if that is what he was doing.

4 MR. SURINE: You didn't know at the time?

5 MR. HARRIS: No. I would guess that was very possibly
6 what he was leading to.

7 MR. SURINE: Your opinion now is that it may have been
8 an invitation to join?

9 MR. HARRIS: That or an affiliated group, yes.

10 MR. SURINE: Now, the next point: Were you in the
11 Far East with Shep Stone, Bradford Connors, and that group?

12 MR. HARRIS: I was not.

13 MR. SURINE: You were not in the Far East?

14 MR. HARRIS: I have never been in the Far East yet.

15 MR. SURINE: How close are you associated with Richard
16 Sanger?

17 MR. HARRIS: I am not sure that I know which man he is.
18 I know a Mr. Sanger. Whether he is Richard Sanger, I couldn't
19 swear. Is he now in the Near East Bureau?

20 MR. SURINE: Isn't he in charge of the Near East
21 Bureau? Richard Sanger?

22 MR. HARRIS: I do know that Mr. Sanger slightly.

23 MR. SURINE: He has been in that position for a period
24 of several months?

25 MR. HARRIS: Well, he may have been acting in it.

1 Actually, Mr. Shepard Stone -- Mr. Shepard Jones;
2 excuse me. He was the man in charge there..

3 MR. SURINE: Is Shep Jones the one who concurred in
4 your order to discontinue the Hebrew broadcast just men-
5 tioned?

6 MR. HARRIS: I don't think he was still the chief then.
7 I did not make this check directly, sir. We work through
8 staffs.

9 MR. SURINE: Just a moment. Would you please read that
10 memorandum you have there? The blue sheet?

11 MR. HARRIS: The blue sheet.

12 MR. SURINE: You will see a sentence there that the
13 Near East Bureau concurs or approves.

14 MR. HARRIS: That is right.

15 MR. SURINE: Now, you drew up that memorandum, did you
16 not?

17 MR. HARRIS: I did.

18 MR. SURINE: Who in the Near East Bureau concurred in
19 your decision?

20 MR. HARRIS: I was informed by my staff people in IFI --
21 that is the field office of IIA, International Information
22 Administration, the Near East part of it --that they recom-
23 mended it, that they had also checked the Bureau of Near
24 Eastern Affairs. I have no way of knowing which person. I
25 would have to try to trace that back.

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1 MR. SURINE: Did you not consider that a very important
2 decision, in the light of the Slansky trial?

3 MR. HARRIS: Yes, sir.

4 MR. SURINE: And it being important, did you take the
5 opportunity to check personally to determine that question?

6 MR. HARRIS: I did not recheck it personally. I have
7 reason to press my staff members, and they report to me
8 accurately. They were very clear on it.

9 MR. SURINE: And at the time when you issued this, the
10 authorities in New York were protesting, as your wires will
11 show.

12 MR. HARRIS: I have not seen all these wires at the time.
13 They don't always come to me just because they are addressed
14 to me.

15 MR. SURINE: That is all.

16 MR. HARRIS: These are sent on behalf of names, right
17 and left.

18 MR. SCHINE: How did you go about getting your book
19 published, the football book?

20 MR. HARRIS: I didn't go about getting my book publish-
21 ed at all, really. This is what happened. I will recite it
22 very simply.

23 There was a lot of publicity, headline publicity, about
24 my experiences at Columbia. You will even find it listed
25 in the World Almanac for that year, it was so noisy. It was

1 the complete hoop-de-doo. So I was a name they could use
2 for selling books.

3 MR. SCHINE: That who could use?

4 MR. HARRIS: A publisher. Two different publishers
5 called me in that period, the late George Putnam, who was
6 the husband of Amelia Earhart, and Mr. James Henry of the
7 Vanguard Press. They both called me. What Mr. Putnam wanted
8 to do was somehow to pull documents out of the Columbia
9 Athletic Association office and make use of those in the
10 book, which apparently would have involved illegal activity,
11 and I had nothing to do with it. I walked out of his office
12 very fast. I went over to see Mr. Henry about the same time,
13 and he said, "Well, you can write a book on football, and
14 you better put in a few other things about the American
15 colleges right now, and we are prepared to give you a normal
16 author's contract, and with all this publicity it will sell
17 very rapidly.

18 Well, that was it.

19 MR. SCHINE: How about the Wolfe Estate? What was that?

20 MR. HARRIS: The Wolfe Estate is a printing organiza-
21 tion, a book making house, in the city of New York. It
22 prints and binds and distributes books. That is the H. Wolfe
23 Estate.

24 You will find them listed in Publishers Weekly, I think,
25 still. That is a standard book house. That has nothing to

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1 do, as far as I know, -- unless they could have an interest
2 in some of these publishing firms. They often do. These
3 printing houses often do that. But I had no connection,
4 no knowledge of that.

5 MR. SCHINE: Do you know if any of these two are tied
6 up with Communist Party activities?

7 MR. HARRIS: My God, it would be a great shock to me
8 if a publisher as reputable as that were tied up with
9 Communist activities. You mean the Vanguard Press? I don't
10 see how the printer could be tied in, because a printer is
11 not responsible for everything that goes through his shop,
12 I wouldn't think. But the publisher certainly knows what
13 he is putting out.

14 The only thing I ever saw of theirs that I remember being
15 very left-wing was that I believe they put out something by
16 Upton Sinclair, or somebody of that sort, some years before
17 the management that I knew came in.

18 The Vanguard Press name -- I may say this -- the Van-
19 guard Press name at one stage was identified, I think, with
20 quite a left wing series of publications, but it certainly
21 had been turned over to new management.

22 SENATOR MUNDT: Was that not the name -- just thinking
23 out loud, it seems to me back in the days of World War II
24 that was the name of a Nazi press. But I do not think it was
25 this man. I think you will find he is a thoroughly reliable man.

1 man.

2 MR. SURINE: One last question. You collaborated with
3 Jacob Baker in this book Government Benefits. You testified
4 that you performed the research.

5 Did you see this book in its final form before it went
6 to the printer?

7 MR. HARRIS: Not before it went to the printer, no. And
8 I would have seen it. I would have seen it but for just the
9 plain accidental fact that there was a great hurry to make
10 the deadline.

11 MR. SURINE: I see. Did you see any parts of the book
12 in its final form before it went to the printer, in working
13 with Jacob Baker?

14 MR. HARRIS: I do not think I ever saw any part of the
15 book in its final form.

16 MR. SURINE: You remember this book pretty clearly, do
17 you, called Government Benefits?

18 MR. HARRIS: Not its content. I don't remember its
19 content very specifically, sir.

20 MR. SURINE: What do you mean by "very specifically"?

21 MR. HARRIS: Well, I mean I remember he was talking
22 about --

23 MR. SURINE: Have you read this book?

24 MR. HARRIS: I read it about 1937. I haven't read it
25 since.

1 MR. SURINE: At the time when you read it, did you
2 approve of it?

3 MR. HARRIS: I don't remember -- It is hard to explain.
4 Whenever you have worked on a --

5 MR. SURINE: No, here is the thing.

6 MR. HARRIS: I did not have an opinion for or against
7 it.

8 MR. SURINE: You claim to be a violent anti-Communist.

9 MR. HARRIS: Is this a pro-Communist book?

10 MR. SURINE: I can show you some sections out of it that
11 are rather astounding. We don't have time today. But what
12 I am trying to get at: You have claimed you were anti-
13 Communist. You helped research material that went into
14 this book. You now state you read it finally in '37. It
15 came out in '36.

16 MR. HARRIS: I saw pieces of it in process.

17 MR. SURINE: That is what I am trying to ask you.

18 MR. HARRIS: In process, but not in final form.

19 MR. SURINE: And do you recall registering protest
20 against any of those pieces?

21 MR. HARRIS: Not the pieces I saw.

22 MR. SURINE: Or any part of it?

23 MR. HARRIS: Because I didn't see all the parts. I say
24 as to the pieces I saw I registered no protest. I wouldn't
25 have any reason to protest about parts that I didn't see.

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1 I would like to go back and look at the book, if I can
2 get a copy from the library, and see what was in there. I
3 contributed a page and a half, I think, of customs duties,
4 which is listed there as an example of what goes into a
5 Government list. And that book was actually written more
6 by Jacob Baker --

7 May I say this. My best recollection is that Jacob
8 Baker dictated most of this book personally in a great
9 white heat. I mean a hurry. He just dictated it. Then he
10 called upon three writers to help him out on it, a Miss
11 Martha Gellhorn, who was then working for the FERA, who was
12 the wife of Ernest Hemingway --

13 MR. SURINE: Did you know Martha Gellhorn?

27 14 MR. HARRIS: I knew Martha Gellhorn.

15 MR. SURINE: Did you know she was at least pro-Communist
16 at that time?

17 MR. HARRIS: No, I did not.

18 MR. COHN: I want to ask one last thing. Do you know
19 about a directive that has come from Mr. Bradley Connors to
20 the New York office of the Voice of America stating that from
21 now on no mention of any Communist anywhere in the world is to
22 be used in any broadcast?

23 MR. HARRIS: Those approximate words have gone to New
24 York.

25 MR. COHN: What is that? Just a little something to bring

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1 about a reductio ad absurdum in this, concerning this Howard
2 Fast thing?

3 MR. HARRIS: It is carried out as Mr. McArdle, the
4 Assistant Secretary of State, ordered, on his understanding
5 of what this committee wanted.

6 MR. COHN: Would you look into that, please?

7 MR. HARRIS: Of course, I will. But I am not concerned
8 with it. I have had nothing to say about it.

9 MR. COHN: You don't know whether the order came out of
10 your office or not? If it did, it would merely have been
11 a formality?

12 MR. HARRIS: I certainly don't remember initialing it,
13 but there have been several stages of this thing in the past
14 few days, and I can't remember just where I got in. I know
15 that the order was actually made, the original order, by
16 Mr. McArdle, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

17 SENATOR MUNDT: What is your plan, Mr. Cohn? Are we
18 through with Mr. Harris?

19 You are right here in Washington, are you not?

20 MR. HARRIS: I am here in Washington, at the disposal of
21 the committee.

22 SENATOR MUNDT: Nothing from this committee ever
23 emanated which should give Mr. Connors or anybody else the
24 idea that from now on no mention of any Communist anywhere
25 in the world is to be used in any broadcast of the Voice.

1 That would be stupid.

2 Mr. COHN: As it was put to us by one of the top
3 people up at the Voice, what it appears to be is an idea,
4 "If they want to play games, we will reduce this to a
5 ridiculous level."

6 SENATOR MUNDT: Will you check up whether Mr. Connors
7 sent such a directive, and if not whose idea it was?

8 MR. HARRIS: He sent that at the direction of Mr.
9 McArdle, the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

10 MR. COHN: Did Mr. Connors write it?

11 MR. HARRIS: I don't know the circumstances. I know
12 Mr. McArdle has acknowledged he ordered it and it is his
13 idea.

14 SENATOR MUNDT: Let us find out if that is an exact
15 quote.

16 All right. We will stand in recess.

17 (Whereupon, at 6:05 o'clock p.m., Monday,
18 February 23, 1953, a recess was taken to the call of
19 the Chair.)

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